

**INSIDE: A High-noon showdown on Bay Street**

# Maclean's

OCTOBER 28, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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# Maclean's

OCTOBER 26, 1985 VOL. 86 NO. 43

## COVER

### Alberta's new chief

Alberta premier-designate Donald Getty, who will be sworn in as Peter Lougheed's successor next week, will inherit a formidable array of problems. As well as tackling the high rate of unemployment and the difficulties of Alberta farmers, Getty could quickly become involved in a dispute with the Ontario government over natural gas pricing. —Page 29

COVER PHOTO BY AL JORDAN



### A hijacking's fallout

Aftermath from the Achille Lauro hijacking agitated the hell of the Italian government and threatened the already fragile Middle East peace process. —Page 39



### A woman with a range

Actress Norma Dell'Agnese, highly praised for her performance in Norman Jewison's *Agnes of God*, says she has played "everything from a nerd to a nun." —Page 47



### A showdown on Bay Street

On Nov. 12 a hearing into one of Canada's most hotly contested takeover will begin. The outcome will set new nationwide ground rules for doing business. —Page 59



### A nose for the Jays

The Toronto Blue Jays' so-called "Drive of '85" because the "Drive of '84," and their excellent season ended abruptly as the Kansas City Royals triumphed. —Page 63

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## The loyal elite

How odd that the cronies to reach the younger generation that more closely resembles Canadian society ("Should no popularity," Radio, Oct. 7). Radio has been a longer tradition in Canadian society than TV, and many of the CBO's most loyal listeners have been absorbed by the entire program changes. I do believe that the crony is becoming elitist—and by trying so hard not to broadcast for what vice-president of the English Radio Network Margaret Lyons calls "a play elite" the crony has given us a paperless version of what was once classic stuff.

—REGINA TOTTRO  
Calgary

## In the name of the spirit

Your article "An emotional religious division" (Separate Beliefs, Oct. 7) attests to the fact that former Ontario premier William Davis set the spirit of economical co-operation and harmony back 25 years or more when he pronounced full public funding for private separate high schools for Catholic students.

—JAMES E. TURNER  
Cambridge, Ont.

## Seeing to the detail

Your article on the Limestone generating station ("Power from the North," Technology, Sept. 28) contains inaccuracies that may create serious difficulties if not corrected. It mentions that the project will create 10,000 jobs. Over the eight years required to bring the generating station to full operational status, 6,000 person-years of direct employment and 10,000 person-years of indirect employment will be created, not, as



Devil, harmony and co-operation

Medouan's states, that 6,000 people will be hired for one-year terms. Medouan's also mentions that hydroelectric exports will begin two years after Lesauvage's projected completion in 1990. Limestone's projected completion date is 1992; in 1990 only two turbines of 16 will begin producing power.

—WILSON PARADISE  
Minister of Energy and Mines,  
Winnipeg

## AIDS ethics

Barbara Amiel's foray into the immensely complicated world of epidemiology ("AIDS and the rights of the well," Column, Sept. 30) is so fraught with ignorance of the current literature on the transmissibility of AIDS that one scarcely knows where to begin to criticize Amiel's attitude approaches disease control as a matter of the plenty obvious, which it is not. Her argument is founded on the repeatedly discredited myth that AIDS is transmitted by casual contact. In fact, according to current medical opinion, people with AIDS pose no hazard in the casual contact of daily living. To argue in favour of discriminating against people with AIDS is pure bigotry.

—ALAN W. CHASE,  
Toronto

Barbara Amiel says, "In the 1500s people may have broken the rules, but hypocrisy and restraint were the norm." May have? Monogamy and restraint the norm? What nonsense. Monogamy and restraint have never been the norm. Had they been, the Bible would be a very different book, and Chaucer would have been out of business.

—JOHN BARBERIS,  
Grand Marais, N.R.

## PASSAGES

OVERSEAS The 1985 Nobel Prize for Literature to French novelist Claude Simon, 78, whose abstract narrative style marked him as one of the "new novel" writers in the early 1950s, by the Royal Swedish Academy, in Stockholm. All but four of his 15 novels are available in English translation, including *The Wing and The Road to Flanders*. Simon lives in Paris, travelling frequently to the south of France where he is a wine grower. Other Nobel Prizes announced last week were: Dr. Herbert Hauptmann, 65, director of research at the Medical Foundation of Buffalo, and Dr. Jerome Kroll, 67, a chief scientist at the Naval Research Laboratory in Washington, for their work in the analysis of crystal structure. West German computer expert Klaus von Kilius, 65, for his 1980 discovery that electrical induction occurs in extremely precise orbits.

INSTALLED As the new archbishop of the ecclesiastical province of Ontario, John Bowell of Hamilton, the 58-year-old bishop of the Niagara diocese, by the 28th provincial synod in Scarborough, Ont. He replaces Archbishop Lawrence Gervin, who generated controversy last spring when he described former Ontario premier William Davis's decision to extend full public funding to Roman Catholic schools as a "Bible-like" act done without consultation. The new archbishop, who was one of the first bishops in Canada to ordain women as priests, said he agreed with his predecessor's criticism of Davis's action.

ENGAGED Motown singer Diana Ross, 41, whose first marriage to publicist Robert Silverman produced three daughters and ended in divorce in 1977, to Norwegian shipping tycoon Arne Naess, 47.

DEED Russian pianist, Emil Gilels, 68, who in 1955 was the first musician from the Soviet Union to perform in the United States since 1921; after a history of heart trouble, in Moscow. He was named for his flowing renditions of romantic concertos.

RETIRED Former British Labour prime minister James Callaghan, 75, from the House of Commons after 40 years, where he was its longest-serving member. Callaghan is the only person in the 20th century to have held Britain's four highest offices of state: prime minister, chancellor of the exchequer, home secretary and foreign secretary. Known as "Smiley Jim" because of his surname disposition, Callaghan led a Labour government for three years before joining the Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives in 1979.

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## The freedom to criticize

Your article on education ("A report card on reform," *Education* '80, Sept. 22) gave a false impression of my view of the role of The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The article suggested that I was critical of some or having to fulfil its mandate. The official mandate of OISE was, and remains, graduate education, research and experimental field-work cost does just that. I told your reporter that William Davis, as minister of education, had an informal mandate in hand when OISE was founded. By contrast the department (now ministry) of education, he wanted OISE to implement progressive educational reform. It was that informal mandate that I said came to fulfil. Far from being critical of that failure, I do not believe it is appropriate for post-secondary institutions to act as agents in the implementation of government policy. Academic freedom implies the freedom and the responsibility to criticize and oppose.

—PROF MARK HOLMES,  
The Ontario Institute for  
Studies in Education,  
Toronto

## Creating a baseball tradition

You disappoint me. You would have all Canadians—indeed all North Americans—fans of major-league baseball be-

lieve that the Blue Jays are breaking major ground by becoming this nation's first pro ball club to seriously enter the post-race ("The smiling Blue Jays in full flight," *Sports*, Sept. 22). It does not take a sports writer or statistician to remember the year 1961, when the Montreal Expos won the National League East championship by defeating the Philadelphia Phillies. In the closing days of the strike-shortened season the Expos made Canadian history—and baseball history—by meeting the Los Angeles Dodgers in the best-of-five National League title series. Surely you recall Jerry White's three-run home run in game number 3 of the series, giving the Expos a 2-1 game lead in the historic seventh? Through the Dodgers went on to win the series, and eventually the world title, that year you should be more circumspect in noting history when history is made. I know about 50,000 Expos fans present at the Olympic Stadium who will never forget it.

—JOE HANCO,  
Atwater, Ont.

## The sound of grief

Regarding your article about the Mexican earthquake ("A long week of death," *World*, Sept. 26). I find it hard to believe that only women are cited or noted in Mexico City. This style of news reporting evidently serves to perpetuate inaccu-

rate, sexist views of man and women's behavior. Many people condemn this type of value-laden writing.

—TRACY PYTHORAKY,  
Waterloo, Ont.

## Stirring suggestions

From to June 8. Excuse for being her own person and supporting the preservation of nuclear war ("A crusader's rebellion," *Follow-up*, Sept. 30). For the government officials who are given copies of *My Love This Planet* should be mandatory. Perhaps their consent could be aimed to reconsider the current course of U.S. defense policies.

—PHILIP HORN,  
Calgary

## Not a sporting chance

I could not help but reflect your lack of coverage of Canada's World Cup soccer qualifying game against Honduras in your Sept. 30 issue. True, the Blue Jays are doing well, but you fill yourself as Canada's weekly newspaper, and this was Canada's national team in action.

MICHAEL DUNNAGE,  
Nanaimo

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence to: *Let Us Talk to Editor*, *Maclean's*, c/o newspaper, 485 Bay Street, 2nd Fl., Toronto, Ont. M5G 1A7.



## REMY-PANNIER

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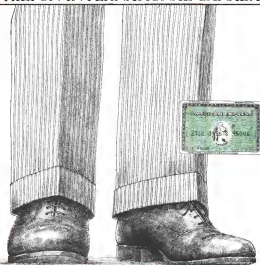
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### FOLLOW-UP

## Indira's surprising heir

After Indira Gandhi was gunned down by one of her trusted Sikh bodyguards on the laws of her New Delhi house last Oct. 31, a former communist poet succeeded her as the unlikely prime minister of the world's most populous democracy. In contrast to his controversial and politically ambivalent younger brother, Rajiv, who died in a 1986 plane crash, Rajiv Gandhi was

her state elections. Instead, he insisted on going ahead. The voters proved him right, electing a moderate Sikh as an alternative with a mandate to implement the accord—a goal that had long eluded his mother.

Gandhi has also replaced his mother's hard-line style and personality cult with a low-key approach. On his birthday in August he discouraged legislators of his

Congress Party from organizing celebrations similar to those they once held for Indira. When Sri Lanka's president, J.R. Jayewardene, paid a state visit to India in June, Gandhi drove his own jeep to the airport to see him off.

But Indian political observers see some dangerous tendencies in the new leader. Claiming to need only five hours sleep a night, Gandhi is known as a workaholic reluctant to delegate authority. He recently gave up the external affairs portfolio but immediately took on defence instead.

As well, tensions remain from Indira's murder. The New Delhi murder trial of Subodh Singh, the only assassin to survive the shootout after the attack on Gandhi, is expected to continue for months. Meanwhile, the demands of security have taken a personal toll because of the Sikh violence of the past year. Rajiv and his family are now guarded by black-clad army commandos and the prime minister delivers his speeches from behind bulletproof glass.

Gandhi has at least been spared the family quarrel that plagued his mother's later years. Manika, Rajiv's ambitious widow, had squabbled openly with Indira, causing the family acute public embarrassment. With Gandhi's assassination she lost her target—and, raising against her brother-in-law in last December's general election, she lost her bid for office. With no family rifts to distract him, Rajiv can concentrate on mending the far more serious divisions that plague the long-suffering people of his vast country.

—ERIC SILVER in New Delhi



Gandhi wears helmet, commandos and bulletproof glass

apparently uninterested in power. The power-hungry Indira today described the new prime minister as "an officer and a gentleman" thrown among wheelers and dealers." But after one year in power Gandhi, 41, has surprised his nation and the world. The "militarist" has turned the subversive and deadly, broken free of Indira's governing style and, in the process, transformed Indian political life.

His greatest achievement remains the Punjab Peace Agreement, signed late in July despite continuing civil strife between India's Hindu majority and the Sikh extremists who want to establish an independent state in the north-western state of the Punjab. In August, when Sikh gunmen led the Sikh majority of the agreement, Hardeep Singh Longowal, president of the Sikh Akali Dal party, many observers expected Gandhi to postpone the Septem-



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## Heroes of the Holocaust

The only light in the darkest chamber at Israel's Holocaust memorial, Yad Vashem, comes from its eternal flame. There, ceremony to commemorate those who saved Jews from the Holocaust follow a solemn ritual. A cantor sings prayers over the etched ashes of concentration camp

victims, then, testimonials to those acts of heroism are entered into the memorial's permanent records. This week Alfred Zisk, a Canadian citizen and a gentile, and his wife, Anna, are to take part in such a commemoration. They will recall the fact that five Jews were hidden in Poland during the Second World

War by Zisk's family. Then they will step out into the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles, a sweeping alley of pines and cypresses, to plant a tree with a metal plaque bearing the family's names. The Zisks will join the ranks of more than 3,000 non-Jews honored by Israel for bravery against the Nazis.

In 1961, Zisk, a Bonaventure, returned from Polish government postings in France and Warsaw to his family home in Krakow, where his parents—Stefan, a printer and an active member of the Polish Underground movement, and his wife, Stefania—were harboring three frightened Jews. Two of them, Edward and Kay Nobel, had escaped from the Grosser concentration camp after cutting a hole in a fence and lying for hours under the bleeding corpses of others who had been shot. Alfred furnished them with false identification papers, which he acquired through the underground.

In 1942 Zisk's father was arrested for economic sabotage—printing illegal ration cards—but the family's efforts to hide Jews—they had by then sheltered two more—were never discovered. After the war Zisk rejected the Polish diplomatic service and defected to Canada while posted in Ottawa in 1946. He settled in Montreal, where he eventually became head of Radio Canada International's Polish service. Almost 30 years later, Zisk visited Yad Vashem and remembers thinking, "My father's and mother's names should be here." But he did not pursue the matter.

Then, three years ago, after he had retired, he received a telephone call from Anna Pory-Wybranowska, literary director at Montreal's Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences. Pory-Wybranowska, a gentle woman father had died at the hands of the Nazis, was shocked by the portrayal of her countrymen as concentration camp guards and torturers in the 1978 television mini-series *Holocaust*. In her search for Poles who contradicted that portrait, she documented six cases of her countrymen's rescue of Jews: the Zisks were her seventh. She urged Alfred to find and send testimony from survivors to Yad Vashem for verification, "if not for yourself, then for your father." The Nobels, who had moved to East Hartford, Conn., and with whom Zisk had kept in touch, submitted their story, which helped win recognition for their saviors.

Zisk says that he is grateful to Pory-Wybranowska: the tree on the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles will serve not only as a memorial to his parents, but also as a reminder of the interdependence of Jews and Poles. "We have the same history," he said. "We should be friends, not enemies."

—KEE BERRY in Toronto



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# The author as an exile

Anthony Burgess, 67, is best known for his 1962 novel, *A Clockwork Orange*, which Stanley Kubrick turned into a controversial film in 1971. An urbane British expatriate who currently lives in Mexico, Burgess is also an accomplished composer, linguist, screenwriter, musician and critic. He has published

two new books which are likely to add to his reputation as a versatile and prolific writer: *Plains Into Borneo*, a controversial tribute to D.H. Lawrence, and *The Kingdom of the Wicked*, a novel that abridges the race of early Christianity and the fall of the Roman Empire. Madelon's correspondent Theodore Levine recently

interviewed Burgess at the Algonquin Hotel in New York while he was in North America to promote his books.

**Madelon:** What is the state of English literature today?

**Burgess:** The American novel is very healthy, but I am not sure about the British novel. The Canadian novel is on the up and up, chiefly because of the presence of Robertson Davies, who is a great novelist. I have just come back from Stockholm, where I tried to persuade my friends on the Nobel committee to consider Robertson Davies as a possible candidate. It is about time Canada had a literary Nobel.

**Madelon:** Why have you said that you regret writing *A Clockwork Orange*?

**Burgess:** I am not terribly fond of the book because it has been misinterpreted. The film version caused it to be viewed as misunderstood. The film added sex and violence to Tenebris. It seemed pornographic to me. Yet the theme of the book was very simple: we have to be free to choose between good and evil, otherwise we are turned into a kind of automaton fruit, with clockwork inside instead of juice and color and sense.

**Madelon:** Why is evil a recurrent theme in your work?

**Burgess:** There are two forces in Western society: one which believes that man was born in original sin and is capable of performing the most terrible crimes; the other which sees man as perfectible—that is, it is only a matter of putting the environment right. I do not believe man is perfectible. You do your best, but you cannot expect too much because of this ingrained capacity to sin. Original sin is real to me.

**Madelon:** Are you very religious?

**Burgess:** I believe there is a God, but He is not better. There is a malign force outside ourselves which always defuses our great liberal projects. You build a city and an earthquake disrupts it. You lodge in a hotel, and pneumonia or and you get genital herpes or AIDS. There is a pattern which we cannot explain rationally, and I read it as a malign God knocking around, always testing us.

**Madelon:** Why are you drawn to D.H. Lawrence?

**Burgess:** I feel very strongly for a man who defied the British establishment and dared to be a great writer. Lawrence was a cheeky little boy in some ways but at the same time he saw things that the establishment could not see. He saw the virtue of living out of the institute—and to hell with politeness, reason, and governing your life by rational thought. That is very much the attitude of a man who has not been brought up in a hide-bound educational system.

**Madelon:** Both you and Lawrence are well known for "immoral" books which were misunderstood. What would Law-

rence have felt about the outlying canonizing over Lady Chatterley's Lover?

**Burgess:** I think Lawrence had loved. He would have felt the same way about Lady Chatterley's Lover as I do about *A Clockwork Orange*. He thought the book was important but he should have foreseen that it would become the focus of the wrong kind of attention. It was producing a very simple sensation. We cannot change the world, this horror of industrialism, but we could at least find our own little world of tenderness—the tenderness of man and woman. That is a very fine thing to say, but because he promoted the actual act in the book, most of his readers assumed it was pornography. They missed the message.

**Madelon:** What was it about early Christianity that inspired you to write *The Kingdom of the Wicked*?

**Burgess:** I wanted to make St. Paul the hero of a book. He has had a bad press these days, especially from women, who regard him as a great misogynist, which is some ways true. I wanted to understand why, and probing into the documents and using my imagination I discovered the answer. He was dealing with sex goddess worship all over Asia, with temple prostitutes and the sexual act as a form of worship. And he said that love is something else, it has a different meaning. But it turned him against women and sex. He was a sincere, misguided man when we have to hear it.

**Madelon:** You began writing relatively late, in your mid-20s. Why?

**Burgess:** I began my artistic career as a composer of music. When I was 25 I began to see that there was no future for me. So I turned to writing novels, which seemed much easier. But it was a kind of hobby until 1936, when I was misbegotten in having a brain tumor, with only one year to live. I wrote five books in that year and since then I have kept up the same pace.

**Madelon:** After that you have written 29 books since then, in addition to television scripts, musical compositions and critical essays. What is the secret of your productivity?

**Burgess:** The only secret is to have something to write about. I am not a frantically energetic person. But I learned when I was supposed to be dying that there had to be a kind of discipline because time is short. In those days I was writing about 2,000 words a day. Now, 1,000 words is enough. People have been very kind, saying things like "Well, Burgess, have you written your monthly novel yet?" I do not think I am doing anything exceptional, if you think of the output of men such as Dickens or Balzac. It was the Bloomsbury Group, with T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf, who thought it was gentlemanly or ladylike to write too much.

**Madelon:** How would you define the words that you have written?

**Burgess:** The books I have written vary from each other, but they are all equally serious. They are meant to make the reader laugh to some extent, and at the same time they are rather serious undertone. I think one has to entertain and enlighten at the same time.

**Madelon:** Why have you chosen to live outside England?

**Burgess:** England has produced great literature, but the British have never been very fond of their writers. I think this is mostly because writers are subversive. People like William Blake and

said that you have written?

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D.H. Lawrence nailed against British hypocrisy, especially in the field of sex. The British have lost their capacity to gaze themselves to the natural, to move through sex, through the imagination. They have to be told this occasionally but they don't like being told. As well, England is a Protestant country, and I am a Catholic from the Southwest. So I have always felt cut off from the general current of intellectual society in Britain. The British regard the writing of books as a rather distasteful hobby. But in Italy and France writers are accepted, and writing is art. ☐



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#### FOLLOW-UP

## Halley's last visit

**H**elen Sawyer Hogg was a sheep 500-year-old when her parents bundled her up one night and took her outside their Lowell, Mass., home to see a bright streak in the sky. It was the spring of 1810, revealed Sawyer Hogg, now a University of Toronto professor emerita of astronomy, and they gazed Comet Halley's last visit with "great excitement." Then fell the icy sphere with its 100,000-mile-long tail of incandescent gas again passed close enough to Earth to be visible to the naked eye. "I think we will see more commercialism this time," said Hogg. "Comets were not well understood in 1810."

Throughout recorded history, Halley's visits every 76 to 78 years have usually sparked superstitions. The last time, Hogg said, "there was real panic in some places." French astronomer Camille Flammarion, knowing that the comet's tail—which would brush the Earth's atmosphere—contained cyanogen gas, erroneously predicted that it would turn to deadly cyanide when it reentered oxygen. Throughout North America people bought gas masks and began "cornel pills"—probably made of sugar—to protect against the perceived danger. When comet pill peddlars were jailed for fraud in Ohio, an angry mob of potential customers forced authorities to release them. Recalled Hogg: "The conjurers really cracked it."

Newspaper accounts of the time show that Canadians blamed the comet for a variety of tragedies, including the death of King Edward VII. "Comet cursed and night King died," said the St. John's Daily News. One of that paper's editors also linked the comet with earthquakes and a mass carnage. For their part, native leaders announced that the comet was responsible for shortages of deer and caribou. Still, the comet did make a real impact on some Canadians. The Saint John Globe reported that a terrified Collett, Ont., prospector fell out of a window and injured himself after "having heard the comet was likely to strike the Earth."

The visitings 76 years ago was brighter than the 1883-86 prodigious. But the latest appearance—visible in Canada after mid-December—will be a memorable time encounter for laymen and scientists alike.

—PENELOPE KOME in Toronto

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to end his epic. Encouraged, he sent the manuscript to Scholastic, for whom Korman had already worked as a school sales representative. After a tough edit that he says "really threw me for a loop," Scholastic published *That Crazy An* (Houghton Mifflin) in 1991. It was the beginning of a close, fruitful relationship which led to three more *Bravo* and *Boots* books—*Where the Plot? Go Jump in the Pool!* (No Coma, Please!)—and to his later works: *Ball* (Bantam Books), the New York-based senior editor at Scholastic who convinced Don't Care Book. "He is a gifted storyteller. Some of what he writes seems far-fetched, but it is told in a believable way."

Korman's first book earned him \$1,500. By the time he was 17 he was earning \$57,000 a year in royalties. Now, he is earning considerably more, but he is reluctant to be specific. "If I was supporting a wife, three kids and a dog, I could not complain. When I have not got those obligations I am doing proportionately better," he said. Mayer has permitted him to visit Greece, California and Boston and to travel back and forth to New York, but he says that he stores most of his earnings in the bank.

Still, he never allowed success to distract his adolescence. Indeed, he persued math and chess in high school and excelled at both. He'd also assisted his



Korman, 'bored'—but not a punker

editor and longtime friend Lee Korman. "He is not the kind of guy to flout his success. In fact, if anyone found out he always played it down, saying 'Yeah, I wrote a couple of books.'"

Scholastic has also not changed his long-time work habits. An avid reader, Korman works at a kitchen table, writing in longhand—he says the word processor that he bought has frightened him nervous. On a good day he completes three or four pages, which his mother later types up. He is paid for her work by his company, Gordon Korman Enterprises Inc. During the past summer he put the finishing touches to his 11th book, *Sons of Jupiter*, and began his 12th, as yet untitled.

He remains unsure about pursuing a career in the field in which he got his degree—dramatic and the writing. Instead, he nurtures a personal fantasy of "one day writing adult stuff, the kind of books that are so heavy you can't pick them up." His literary idols include American Joseph Heller and Kurt Vonnegut. But he says that he will never give up writing for young people. "I won't quit that—ever," he says. "I know a lot more about the business than I did when I was 16. But if I knew all this back then, I would have been terrified and never started."

—MICHAEL BYRON, in Toronto

## COLUMN

# Canadians as endangered species



By Barbara Amiel

Canada may need to go on the fertility pill. While tongues clack about the Third World's overpopulation problem, little attention has focused on the situation in the industrialized world. In European nations, northern Europe, North America and parts of industrialized Asia, families are contracting into population growth. This fact has generated sufficient concern in Japan that a government commission is studying the implications of the declining indigenous population. The French have always encouraged childbirth with prenatal policies. These countries seem to think that the decline of their own people is more of a threat to national identity than urban developers or American television.

But in Canada there is no attention to the issue at all. Canada has one of the lowest fertility rates in the world. We reproduce at the rate of 1.4 children per family. In order to maintain the existing population level, families need to average 2.2 children—to allow for babies or children who don't survive to adulthood.

Why are Canadians having fewer children? Conservatives would like to blame it on technological progress—or attitudes peculiar to the past 30 years such as feminism and extreme middle-class liberalism. But this is simplistic. The emergence of oral contraceptives, Gloria Steinem, vacuums and the wisdom of Pierre Trudeau have only aggravated the problem, not caused it. One can only speculate about the real reason behind that 1.4 figure. But it is balanced it seems to me that the decline is caused by a failure to act as people in different ways.

The relative affluence of developed society has made the family more of a luxury than an asset. Once upon a time children could be sent out to work at an early age and later in life would support their parents. Today, the state provides pensions, health insurance, home care and other social services for the elderly while parents have to support children through a dozen or more years of education. At the same time, it has become increasingly difficult to accumulate real wealth within a family. The word "nepotism" is a derogatory word—as Justice Minister John Cullen found out. Ordinary families don't think of themselves as extended communities, all helping to build up the family's wealth.

But the affluence enjoyed by today's average family living in a developed country is only skin deep. What underlies this affluence around the world are a lot of people who can best be described as "affluent poor." They live on decent salaries but own very little real property. They don't own as their children, because it is the kids who will probably move there into an old-age home. In the past, if a man had seven children, he was the ruler of a little empire. Now, if he breaks from the trend and produces seven offspring, he will end up the focus of seven separate families—some of whom waste his hard-earned money.

What is left for the affluent poor? The family has been whittled away by the state. There is little hope of building empires. Understandably, these affluent poor turn away from procreation and embrace hedonism. They turn up for a charter party to the Caribbean or a lower compact disc. They would rather spend their money on a new car than on new

**Will it matter if future people calling themselves Canadians are largely of East Indian or African stock?**

unnecessary children. The exceptions to this are the very poor, who tend to have large families, and the very rich, who have pride in bloodlines and something together to pass on which would otherwise go to waste. And who can afford the stability of children.

This attitude existed before women's lib and atomic, but those two impulses certainly aggravated it. The status of the last century-century has made it even more difficult to accumulate wealth—the state decides whether a person can take in boarders or sell goods in his garage. And the state denies the family the freedom to raise its children independently—in areas such as education and, as a result, values. Meanwhile, the feminists have told people to stay centring their lives around the "slavery" of the womb. Biology is not to be destiny. People should not become patriarchs and matriarchs anymore—they should become a "senior citizen" instead.

The result of this has been the population decline. If the trend continues unchecked, speeded up by abortion and the growing medical problems of infertility,

certain groups in industrial society will disappear in Canada, while our geographical space would obviously be filled by some other people, most likely from the overpopulated areas of the world. Canadians—as we know ourselves—may be as endangered people as a few centuries ago.

Does this matter? Viewed from the perspective of a global citizen concerned with the problems in crowded underdeveloped countries, probably not. From a historical perspective the world has seen the disappearance of the Egyptians, the Vikings and almost all European races, not much upheaval. What does it matter if in 300 years the people living in France and calling themselves French will be three-quarters Algerian stock? The people living in Greece today, who call themselves Greeks, are largely of Slavic, Turkish and Magaric background. Will it matter if the people calling themselves Canadians a few hundred years down the road are largely of East Indian or African stock?

It probably matters very little if it occurs gradually over a long period of time with the replacement stocks acquiring the attitudes, institutions and habits of the original people. On the other hand, there will be some people—and perhaps we can't blame them—who feel that it is unfair to try to ensure that the French, Japanese, Koreans and North Americans survive. If environmentalists can go into apoplexy over the possible extinction of the small darter or the whooping crane, perhaps it is understandable that some people might be a touch concerned over the fate of the French. We might even see some value in not seeing Canadians disappear from the face of the earth in a few centuries—as they might, frankly, if present trends continue.

How can we move these endangered groups? Well, we should recognize that these things we discuss as "traditional values," such as the family, the work ethic and motherhood, are a lot more than mere abstractions clung to for religious, philosophical or sentimental reasons. When we advocate these values in favor of abortion, hedonism and the weakening of the family, we face far more than spiritual consequences: we face the practical implication that we may soon die out as a group. There may be no way to stop this, and, anyway, this may not be the best way to recognize this and debate it openly will be a horrendous error which history will judge.

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COVER

# ALBERTA'S NEW CHIEF

**T**he man who will be sworn in as Alberta's 13th premier next week is a lucky, well-spoiled westerner who often spends Saturday mornings leaning over the rails of Edmonton's Northland Race Track chatting with the stable hands. Donald Getty's fascination with the sport of kings—he owns five thoroughbreds with names such as *Nine Norman* and *Years of Pleasure*—is appropriate for a man who has made it to the top in every field that he has entered. Over the past two decades Peter Lougheed's successor has established himself as a winner on the professional football field, in government and in Alberta's corporate boardrooms. Even so, as the 32-year-old Getty embarks on a new career as premier after six years in the private sector, he faces a formidable array of political problems and uncertainties.

**Pledge** When Getty takes office next week, Alberta's 120,000 unemployed workers will be looking to him for economic remedies that will create jobs, and the province's hard-pressed farmers will expect him to honor his campaign pledge to create a special cabinet committee to



The provincial legislature in Edmonton: searching for economic remedies that will create jobs and help hard-pressed farmers

find ways of easing the province's agricultural problems (page 20).

At the same time, he will try to improve his relations with disillusioned Conservatives, many of whom are still angry about the hard-fought and divisive campaign that won Getty the party leadership on Oct. 15. Analysts say he will also likely try to demonstrate that, despite his close friendship with Lougheed, he is not a pallid imitation of his predecessor and a pawn of the party's power brokers. And Alberta's fractious opposition parties, eager for an election call that Getty could, if he chose, delay until November, 1987, will be waiting eagerly for the former Edmonton *Helmets* quarterback to fumble as he begins putting his policies into effect.

**Showdown** As well, Getty will likely turn his attention to a familiar and highly volatile issue—what price Alberta will get for its natural resources when Ottawa deregulates natural gas prices on Nov. 1. Ontario, the nation's largest natural gas consumer, has been pressuring Ottawa and Alberta, the major producing province, for lower prices. But Getty, who as intergovernmental affairs and energy minister under Lougheed fought

fervently to get the best price for Alberta crude oil during the 1970s, is unlikely to accede to that demand. As a result, the complex gas pricing issue could lead to a bruising showdown between Getty's Alberta and the conservative province of Central Canada (page 30).

**Scopeout** The openly combative tone of Getty's first speech to delegates that crowned his victory at the Conservative leadership convention in Edmonton on Oct. 13 aroused concern in Eastern Canada of a renewal of the energy disputes of the past decade. *Dearest* Getty is thunderous against "I will never forget the National Energy Program of 1980, the crushing of our growth, the derauling of our economy. It must not happen again." *The Toronto Star* said in an editorial the next day that Getty, in preparation for a provincial election campaign, might wish to make Ontario Liberal Premier David Peterson "take a new Alberta message."

Still, if a new energy-pricing showdown develops, fellow politicians recognize that the Quebec-born, Ontario-bred Getty can be a tough but fair opponent. "He is a man you can trust if you are involved in negotiations," said National

Westminster Bank of Canada Ltd. chairman Alastair Gillingham, who, as Liberal energy minister in Ottawa from 1975 to 1978, negotiated oil and coal price increases with Getty. "He is very responsible and very effective. He'll be taking strong positions." Added Conservative MP James Edwards, who represents Edmonton South: "He is not out of the same cloth as Mulroney. He will be interested in reaching accommodation but he is hard-nosed." And a former Liberal minister who knows him speculated that Getty, who left politics in 1979 to be president of a Calgary oilfield servicing firm, Norwest Energy Corp., has potential weaknesses as well. Getty, he noted, "is a little rusty, and after being in the corporate boardroom you tend to adopt the attitudes and values of the corporate sector."

**Secret** Alberta has changed dramatically since the days when Getty served as Lougheed's battling energy minister. A decade ago the province enjoyed an unprecedented boom as international petroleum prices soared and Canadian and U.S. customers eagerly sought Alberta oil. Now, Alberta's nonrenewable oil reserves are badly depleted, and in-

international markets are needed in cheap crude oil. In an interview with *Maclean's* Getty called for less—and more casual—government and said, "My style is less intense" (page 16).

The provincial economy is recovering slightly from the swollen effects of the 1980 National Energy Program. That policy was introduced by the former Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau, which tried to increase Canadian control of the petroleum industry. As well, the severe recession of the early 1980s was particularly acute in the province. At the same time, the province's financial community is reeling from the collapse of two banks—the Canadian Commercial and the Northland—in the past two months. Currently, 9.2 per cent of the provincial labor force is unemployed, and last month the number of Albertans receiving social assistance reached a record high of 96,425, an increase of nearly 34,000 since last summer.

**Election:** Before deciding the timing of an election—swapped in the spring—Getty has announced that he will call two by-elections before Christmas. One will fill the seat in Calgary-West that Lougheed held for 18 years (the former premier will begin leaving in political science at the University of Alberta this fall). Is the other legislation Getty himself will try to win a seat, probably in an Edmonton riding vacated by a Tory M.P.?

While Getty is expected to win, the Tories will still likely face serious challenges to their single-party domination of the legislature—they now hold 54 of 79 seats. Conservatives acknowledge that the hard-fought leadership campaign, which was marred by allegations of inept delegate meetings and belated staffing, damaged the party's image. And the New Democratic Party, which forms the official opposition with two legislative seats, was expected to pick up support in the northern part of the province.

Getty will also have to heal the divisions within his own party. As will, he will have to attack the sense that he supports the party's not broadly based—and that he may be at the mercy of the province's Conservative corporate elite. The 12-week leadership race was a test

of content among three distinct camps. Getty loyalists allied with the party's "wildcard" and 40 of the 75 Tory M.P.s, a reform group that backed Calgary lawyer Ronald Gritter, and the party's ethnic membership, which supported Municipal Affairs Minister John Krasak. On the first ballot Gritter finished third with enough votes to deprive Getty of a first-ballot victory. He then crossed the

representative of the working middle class that came to power under Lougheed in the early 1970s. The question is whether he can bring all these other groups that aren't working or middle class into the fold.

**Mistakes:** Getty's own beginnings were relatively modest. Born in Montreal's Westmount district in the depths of the Depression in August, 1935, he was the



Getty with family: a winner on the professional football field, in the boardroom and in politics

convention floor to join Kamak's cheering supporters. On the final ballot Getty defeated Kostik by 254 votes—1,061 to 807—to win the leadership.

**Votes:** Lougheed, who announced last June that he is retired to step down after 38 years as party leader and 14 as premier, was on hand to endorse the vote and to reinforce Getty's own calls for party unity. But some radio-and-tv Tories said that they remained wary of Getty. They questioned the heavy corporate representation in his campaign, including Robert Blair, chairman of Nova Corp., and James Gray, executive vice-president of Canadian Fluorine Exploration Ltd. And Edmonton pharmaceutical salesman Getty Foley, a Krasak supporter: "We're worried that Getty won't have full control. He's got all the party people at the top but not at the bottom." Added University of Alberta political scientist Larry Pratt: "Getty

remind of few children. At that time, his father briefly supported his family on state relief and then held a variety of jobs, including an administrative position in the Canadian Air Force during the Second World War. After moving to Ottawa and Toronto, where Getty attended Malvern, the family settled in London, Ont., where Getty's father finally found a steady job as a laboratory-food salesman. As a Toronto high school student Getty says he remembers thinking that the University of Western Ontario in London, where he later enrolled, "was as far west as you could go. That's remarkable that you could be in high school and think that." Getty quarterbacked the university's Mustang football team through two championships years before graduating with a business degree in 1955.

A week after graduating, Getty married his high school girlfriend, Margaret

Mitchell. The young couple decided to drive to Alberta in Getty's old Oldsmobile for their honeymoon. As Getty recalled during his campaign for the Tory leadership, they "fell in love with the place."

That same year Getty turned pro with the Edmonton Eskimos as a backup quarterback (Lougheed was the paid returner for a single season.) In his 10 seasons with the club Getty played a role in two Grey Cup victories and was named outstanding player in the West in 1964. The most exhilarating moment of his pro football career was in 1966—at a time when imported American

several Quebec enterprises. In 1973 he helped to plan and launch the Alberta Rivers Co., a joint government and private corporation that enabled the province to invest in the pioneering hydroelectricity project. A year later he endorsed the province's controversial \$38-million purchase of Pacific Western Airways, an acquisition aimed at keeping the Alberta company from being moved to British Columbia. As Getty told *Maclean's* during the leadership race, there are times "when the private sector can't, and doesn't want to do things in Alberta's public interest."

Getty gained further national promi-



Gritter and wife, Jacqueline, at leadership conference: a tough, divisive campaign

ous players were beginning to dominate key positions—as the Eskimos defeated the Montreal Alouettes by a score of 30-27 to win the Cup. "I took off my helmet," recalled Getty, "and you saw me bawling and bleeding, and I said to myself, 'A Canadian quarterback has won the Grey Cup.'" Before Getty hung up his cleats in 1965, he had already started a career in the oil patch, first as a manager for Imperial Oil Ltd. and then as a founder of Beldorado Oil & Gas Co. In 1964, meanwhile, Lougheed had become a lawyer and joined Beldora Corp. In 1962 Lougheed became leader of the Alberta Conservative party, which had not held more than three seats in the legislature since 1950. Lougheed recruited Getty to run in the 1967 provincial election. Both men won, joining the "Original Six" men of the reconstituted Alberta party who formed a vocal opposition against Premier Harry Stewart's Radical-Crest government. Four years later Getty's Conservatives came to power with a 40-seat majority government.

As Lougheed's intergovernmental affairs minister from 1971 to 1975, Getty was a firm "Alberta-first" who was deeply involved in the establishment of

senior as energy minister from 1975 to 1979 when he developed a reputation for stubbornly defending the interests of his oil-producing province. As oil prices—and demand for Alberta's high-quality crude—soared through the 1970s, Getty acted as Lougheed's right-hand man in a long-running and bitter confrontation with the Trudeau government in Ottawa over the division of all revenues. Lougheed and Getty "compromised each other," recalled Johnny Reay, an Edmonton Ford automobile dealer who is one of Getty's closest friends. "Sometimes when you go into a meeting you have to have a bad day."

**Wares:** Getty learned to play the part successfully. One of the most explosive battles in the Alberta-Ottawa energy war occurred in 1973 when Ottawa slapped a special tax on oil exports to the United States. After Alberta protested, Ottawa quietly agreed to phase out the tax but then informed Edmonton's Conservatives that the province, in response, Getty sharply escalated federal-provincial energy discussions until Ottawa had established that talks could be "carried on in a spirit of trust."

In 1979 Getty left politics to pursue a

business career and to spend more time with Margaret and their four children. After working as a consultant for a year, Getty took over as Norlick's chairman and chief executive officer. Norlick, an energy services company, was valued at \$180 million last July. At the same time, Getty was a director of 31 corporations, including Interprovincial Steel and Pipe Co., of which he was also chairman, the Royal Bank and Nova Corp.

**Transition:** Getty's parts in the corporate world have provided him with valuable connections and a substantial personal estate. Before leaving Edmonton last week for a brief stay at the vacation home he owns near the Indian Wells Golf and Country Club near Palm Springs, Calif., Getty said Lougheed is overseeing the transition of power, then began clearing up his business affairs by resigning his board memberships.

An premier of Alberta is still immediately confront new financial and economic problems. One of his first priorities will be to offer solutions for the province's poor and the army of Albertans seeking jobs. So far, Getty has pledged to stimulate employment by offering tax incentives and price guarantees to encourage projects to exploit Alberta's vast oil-sands reserves. But sparking concern about oil multi-billion-dollar oil-sands projects since the early 1980s, and now states say that defining world petroleum prices have made new oil management uneconomic.

**Relief:** As a more immediate solution Getty has volunteered to tackle unemployment with incentives for small businesses. "I don't know if it will work. But I hope to offer quick relief for the increasing number of needy Alberta families who are the province's most glaring social embarrassment. Typically, the Edmonton Food Bank, which served 1,380 families in the last year, has added food to 15,350 families in September. And the Food Bank's executive director, Gerard Kennedy "is a barometer of the hardship that has taken place here."

Getty will likely also act swiftly to support the province's 40,000 farmers, about one-third of whom are seriously in debt after several years of depressed prices and poor growing conditions. Although Alberta and Ottawa have already devoted more than \$20 million worth of drought assistance to hard-pressed farmers, and now Getty says they need more handouts. As longer-term solutions, Getty said during his leadership campaign that he will reduce farm costs for farmers, create a new flexible crop insurance program and provide government support for 20-



Longheed: an intense working pace

your bank loans fixed at low interest rates.

To pay for these programs Getty says that he wants to temporarily cap Alberta's \$12-billion Heritage Trust Fund—the pool of provincial petroleum earnings that was set up in 1975—and divert about \$725 million a year in provincial oil and gas revenues to assist farmers and small businesses. So far, he has given no indication that he intends to abandon that plan—Longheed's desire that the fund be allowed to grow. Deceased Robert O'Brien, whose family members have taken outside jobs in an effort to save their estate and grow a farm 300 km south of Edmonton. "Everything that has been said about the plight of farmers is true, or worse. I'm hoping Doc will do what he says."

**Language.** On the political front, Longheed has left his friend and successor a \$1-million war chest and an electoral record unparalleled in Canada. Under Longheed, Alberta's Conservatives increased their standing in the legislature in each of the five elections held since 1985, and Getty will face a major challenge in trying to keep that legacy intact.

But spokesmen for the New Democrats as well as the Liberals—the Grits have not held a legislature since 1987—say that they have a good chance of ending the Tory dominance of the legislature. They add that their prospects are brightened in Edmonton, which has the province's highest unemployment rate at 13.6 per cent—and in northern Alberta, where the descendants of Ukrainian, German and Norwegian settlers work to enrich their land. "Because of the farming crisis," said New Leader Ray Martin, "rural Albertans are wondering if their communities will become ghost towns within the next 10 or 15 years. It's frightening, the depth of the hollow out there." At the same time, Martin says that he is not impressed by

Getty's leadership qualities. The new Tory leader, he argued, "is yesterday's man for yesterday's party. Longheed had spark and fire. I look at Mr. Getty and don't see any excitement."

**Stronghold.** On the right, only M.L.A. Raymond Spence's eight-month-old Representative Party, whose two members previously sat in the legislature as independent M.L.A.s, is given a remote chance of cutting into Tory support in southern and central Alberta. Tory strongholds. Spence, a former Social Credit cabinet minister, said that his party advocates low-interest consumer loans and lower gasoline prices to leave \$350 million a year more in Albertans' pockets. As for Getty, Spence says that "he doesn't have Longheed's burning objectives, and that could be his downfall."

But members of the other parties do



Kozak: having wounds in the party

not expect Alberta's Conservatives to lose their majority status in the next election. Nettel Marie Kozak, a former Edmonton alderman and Liberal candidate, "I don't like the notion of running to split opposition, but the reality is just that. Albertans want more opposition but they are not prepared to tag the Tories as no good." And a University of Manitoba poll taken this fall showed the Conservatives with the support of 74.1 per cent of divided voters, the vote with 14.3 per cent and the Liberals trailing at 9.1 per cent.

**Style.** As premier, Getty will likely uphold many of Longheed's basic policies—including free trade with the United States—while differing in style. He has already indicated that he will lean toward a more open approach to government and would like to see Albertans rely more on themselves and less on government services. The sixty-year-old Getty is likely to work at a far more relaxed pace than Longheed, who main-

tained a brisk working pace seven days a week. Said Harold M'Roke, Getty's former deputy intergovernmental affairs minister: "I can't imagine Doc working with that [Gulfair] vigor of Longheed's."

For all his image outside of Alberta as a hard-nosed negotiator, friends and acquaintances describe Getty—as a devout member of the United Church—as an essentially shy, reserved man. "He's got a very loud nature," noted M'Roke. "But he's a conspirator. When something has to be done, he can be very stern. By nature, though, he doesn't walk around like a tough guy." Despite his close ties to Alberta's political and business elite, Getty refers to himself as "an average guy." Still, his favorite pastime—pursuing a stable of thoroughbreds—is beyond the reach of ordinary Albertans. He also likes to golf and to barbecue hamburgers or steaks for M'Garrat and their four sons, Derek, 36, Harris, 32, David, 27, and Dale, 20, at the family's \$300,000, new home in South Edmonton.

**Chief.** In the weeks ahead, Albertans will likely watch the new chief slowly, particularly when he makes his first appearance on the national stage at a federal-provincial conference on the economy, which will be held in Edmonton next month. As he campaigned across Alberta for the party leadership, Getty recalled Alberta's most past, when the oil industry was booming and there was more money and less government. While he clearly cannot bring back the past, he can, and likely will, do everything that he can to re-create that golden era of provincial affluence. When he suspects that Alberta's interests are threatened, he can be expected to fight back just as vigorously as he did in the past.

—ANDREW NICKERSON in Edmonton with HELEN MACKENZIE in Ottawa



Martin, voters' want more opposition

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# The new chief on the record

Two days after being elected leader of the Alberta Coalition party, pro-independence Don Getty discussed his career, his political beliefs and his plans for the province's future in a one-hour interview with *Maclean's*. Edmonton Bureau Chief Andrew Nikjorak. The highlights:

**Maclean's:** As Alberta's energy minister during the 1970s you were once described as a man with two chips on his shoulder—one against Bay Street and the other against Ottawa. Was that, or is it today, a fair statement?

**Getty:** I don't believe I had a chip on my shoulder. I have always gone into negotiations with Ottawa wanting to consult and negotiate and to reach agreements. The only time we got upset was when we were treated unfairly. That's the only time we will fight, because I love Canada. As for Bay Street, I did have the experience as a western businessman of going down there to convince people to invest here, and it was pretty horrendous because out here we don't have the long records of eastern companies. But I think in some ways that has changed—and I hope the recession and the collapse of the Canadian Commercial and Northern banks haven't changed the new thinking that the West is the place to go.

**Maclean's:** Now are a classic example of someone born in Eastern Canada who settled in Alberta and became one of the province's staunchest defenders. What made you an Alberta-fan?

**Getty:** Not Alberta first—Canada first. But the view that Ottawa is strong when Ontario and Quebec are strong is not the view I have. My view is that all the parts are strong, and therefore Canada is strong. For me, it was just the feeling that if you were involved here in business you started to have a feel for the province's potential. You said, "Let's reach that potential." And if you

felt that other parts of Canada were preventing you from reaching it, I think that's when you started to get involved.

**Maclean's:** How do you feel about the argument that Alberta natural gas producers should get consumers in Ontario and Quebec a special deal, so that they pay a lower price than U.S. customers?

**Getty:** I don't know if the price should be



Getty: 'If all the parts are strong, Canada is strong'

lower than the export price, but it should be a fair price. But what Ontario should be thinking about is not a short-term cheaper price for gas. They should be thinking that if they pay a fair price, Alberta will have a healthy industry, that companies will drill and find more gas, and we will have reserves for the future.

**Maclean's:** You have an image of being a gentle, decent man. Yet your campaign for the Tory leadership had a hard edge, and there were charges of dirty tricks. How do you account for that?

**Getty:** Well, 89 per cent of that was created in the eyes of people because I was the front-runner and everyone felt

it was fair game to take a shot at the front-runner. It's an even outcome, so I did encourage [campaign irregularities], so we did [find, upon checking, any substance in the allegations].

**Maclean's:** As premier, how will your style differ from Peter Lougheed's?

**Getty:** Well, our styles are different. Mine is less relaxed. I'm going to try to slow the government down. That is going to be different because people are used to a certain kind of government and I'm going to try to convince them that the best thing is for the government to do less and that when people have problems they shouldn't turn to the government automatically. I'm going to ask them, "Isn't that something you can work out yourself without the government passing a new law or regulation?" It's also going to try to convey that those of us who are elected are basically just like the people who elected us. I am going to want to accept advice and ideas from the opposition, the media and any other place we can get good ideas. I want people to relate to us as equals.

**Maclean's:** What are the moral principles that guide you in public life?

**Getty:** I guess the door that I have outlined at every opportunity are my God, my family, my country and my province. I also believe that when you make a commitment, you always live up to your word. That's one of the clearest things about politics that I believe that your reputation is the only thing you have.

**Maclean's:** What are your greatest strengths and weaknesses?

**Getty:** My greatest weakness may be in treating people too much. As far as strengths, I think I can handle pressure situations. If I'm under pressure, I get calmer. My thinking seems to get better, and I can guide other people. I think I can keep a certain poise under stress.

**Maclean's:** After eight years in politics you left to enter the business world in 1979. Why have you returned to politics?

**Getty:** For one thing, my family has grown up. The other thing is that this province has been so good to me that when Lougheed decided to retire I made up my mind to play an active role in this province for the next 10 or 15 years. But I didn't want to just be advising people. I wanted to help make these decisions. I also thought I could run, and lose. I was prepared for that. But I wasn't sure I could live with not running and wishing or regretting for the rest of my life that I hadn't.

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# The West's restive voters

Under its new leadership, Alberta's Conservative appeal to be in little danger of reacquainting their 14-year hold as power, regardless of when the next election is held. But elsewhere in Western Canada the political outlook is harder to forecast. In British Columbia, Premier William Bennett's Social Credit government has a comfortable majority in the legislature but trails the opposition New Democratic Party in opinion polls. The NDP was also gaining in Saskatchewan, where they Premier Grant Devine is expected to call an election next year. And in Manitoba NDP Premier Howard Pawley has hinted at a late-fall election after a sharp drop in support for Gary Filmon's opposition Tories.

Only last year the NDP was in retreat at the provincial and federal levels. But according to a survey of 3,113 westerners, carried out in late September and early October by the University of Manitoba's Independent Institute for Social and Economic Research, the party has gained support across the West. According to the survey, the party would have a good chance of forming the government in every western province except Alberta if elections were held now.

**Fortunes:** The security of the poll may be centered in Manitoba. Although Pawley's government has a year left in its mandate, the premier is considering a late-November election to capitalize on the recent improvement in his party's fortunes. The University of Manitoba poll found that of the 396 respondents in that province, 44.6 per cent of devoted voters would choose the NDP, compared to 40 per cent for the Tories and 13 per cent for the Liberals. The poll's margin for error in each province was noted as less than 3.7 per cent. It shows out of 38 that the Social Fortunes contrasted with a poll by the same institute in April, 1984, after Pawley's government was embroiled in a controversy over a plan—now shelved—to declare the province bilingual. That survey found that 55.9 per cent of voters backed the Tories, while only 29.9 per cent favored the NDP.

Election speculation has also been

building in Saskatchewan. But according to the University of Manitoba poll, Devine's Tories are now trailing the NDP in the province, although institute director Greg Mason noted that the opposition's lead "is at the margin of statistical significance." They strategists pre-



Pawley: rumors of a late-column election in Manitoba

sume resigned last spring. That would allow the party to assess its popularity, which even Devine admits has slipped. "It is a home race, and that is exactly how I like it," the premier said of his party's standing in relation to the NDP.

On the West Coast, Bennett is only halfway into his five-year mandate, but there is evidence of widespread discontent with his government. The premier appeared to be coasting on Expo '86, the world's largest exposition fair in Vancouver next summer, to improve popularity and Steered support. But NDP Leader Robert Skelly has attacked the government over the province's 15-per-cent unemployment rate and promised to create 80,000 new jobs in the first three years of an NDP government. Party to counter Skelly's strategy, Bennett has announced plans for a new \$3.9-billion hydroelectric dam on British Columbia's Peace River—provided he can win approval from U.S. and Canadian agencies to sell the electricity in California. The plan is expected to create 3,500 jobs.

**Risks:** Liberal prospects in each of the four western provinces are improving, but the party still ranks as distant third. The University of Manitoba poll found that support for the party provincially ranged from a low of 8.8 per cent in British Columbia to 13 per cent in Manitoba.

Liberal Leader Stephen Harper, the party has been helped by the election of a federal Tory government after 21 years of almost uninterrupted Liberal rule in Ottawa. And she predicted that Liberal supporters would continue to grow in the West "as long as we don't go into power nationally."

—BOB LAYNE with JAMES O'NEILL in Vancouver, LARLE SCHLES in Regina and GARY WEBB in Winnipeg



Devine: home race

# A new energy dispute

On the day that Donald Getty is sworn in as Alberta's new premier, Ottawa is expected to propose a new pricing system for domestic natural gas. That announcement could have immediate political repercussions for Getty's government. Ottawa favors price deregulation, and Ontario Energy Minister Vincent Kerrie has already warned that

Halifax, whose government is committed to deregulating natural gas prices. But before Carney can scrap the existing system of federally set prices, she must make up with an alternative that allows gas prices to reflect market conditions. So far, there is no consensus as how that goal can be accomplished. To help her, Carney set up a task force of gas producers and distributors last

price of exports to any U.S. region would not be allowed to influence the rate charged in adjacent Canadian provinces. In addition, the producers would have to accept a slightly lower Western wholesale price and a less regulated environment for domestic gas sales.

**Shakeup:** So far, both Getty and Alberta Energy Minister John Sweeney have been anxious to avoid angry public debates about gas pricing policies. Sweeney told *Maclean's* last week that all the parties involved in the talks "are sincerely working toward a resolution of the issue." Still, the potential for political conflict is clear. In a speech to the Ontario Natural Gas Association last month, Ontario's Kerrie made it clear



Natural gas processing plant in Alberta; deregulation (below) threatens to avoid angry public debates

**Dispute:** The gas pricing issue at its heart is a wide dispute over supply and demand. In essence, buyers in consuming provinces such as Ontario and Quebec argue that the current

North American gas market is too tight. They want lower prices for residential and industrial users. But the producing provinces, led by Alberta, strongly oppose their cuts in domestic gas prices. At the same time, producers in Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia—gas-rich provinces

that Ontario is relying on lower natural gas prices to compensate for the higher oil prices contained in the Western Accord Declared Kerrie: "We have to get our own market organized before we start giving away more non-renewable resources to foreign markets."

These remarks prompted a swift and angry response from Alberta. Provincial New Democratic Party Leader Ray Martin declared: "It's the same old argument Ontario needs to have forgotten that the resource belongs to Alberta." Added James Gray, executive vice-president of Canadian Hunter Exploration Ltd. of Calgary, a major natural gas producer: "If Kerrie's speech is indicative of his government's attitudes, we are clearly in for a serious fight over gas."

—BOB LAYNE with JAMES O'NEILL in Vancouver, LARLE SCHLES in Regina and GARY WEBB in Winnipeg



—BOB LAYNE with JAMES O'NEILL in Vancouver, LARLE SCHLES in Regina and GARY WEBB in Winnipeg



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## A hard luck harvest

For Alberta grain farmer Doug Marlin, the catchment pond of muddy water on his farm east of the Rocky Mountain foothills last week was a symbol of what he's seen. The rain and snow that drenched his 1,100-acre farm 100 km west of Lethbridge came too late to save crops devastated by a severe summer drought. In fact, the wet weather only made things worse: what little is left in the bucket and wheat that was withering stood deteriorating in the field, too sodden to harvest. The damp earth held the promise of a bumper crop next year. But that may be too late for Marlin, 36, who said he feared that he will be unable to meet his December mortgage payment on the land where he lives with his wife, Robin, and three children. "I don't know whether we'll be here next year," said Marlin. "It's up to the bank."

Across the western prairies last week thousands of farmers found themselves in a similar predicament. And the impact will be felt throughout the Canadian economy. Even last year's depressed harvest generated \$5.4 billion in export earnings alone. And economists estimate that as many as four Canadian jobs depend, directly or indirectly, on the production and purchase of each one of the \$1.6-billion Prairie farmers' exports in a similar predicament. And the impact will be felt throughout the Canadian economy. Even last year's depressed harvest generated \$5.4 billion in export earnings alone. And economists estimate that as many as four Canadian jobs depend, directly or indirectly, on the production and purchase of each one of the \$1.6-billion Prairie farmers' exports in a similar predicament.

Farmers, who had survived an infestation of crop-devouring grasshoppers and the severe consecutive summer drought that afflicted parts of the Prairies, have been hit hard by heavy rain and snow. Even if the wet grain can be harvested, its quality and value is reduced because of excessive moisture content. Grain pools in the Prairies provinces reported that about 13 million tons of grain, or almost 30 per cent of the crop, revealed in the fields—the heaviest proportion left unharvested so late in the year. Rod Steve Fitch, 46, who farms 360 acres near Yorkton, Sask. "Before now, it's frustrating to look out there and see a good crop and not be able to get it out of the fields."

Despite the triple misadventure of pests, drought and soggy harvest conditions, the volume of grain production this year could still turn out to be greater than experts forecast earlier. In September the federal government projected a total grain crop of 37 million tons—a two-million-ton increase over 1984, but well below the record grain haul of 45 million tons set in 1983. But



And Doug Marlin has lost: from drought to rain and snow

Canadian Wheat Board spokesman John Morris noted that the increase in quantity will be offset by the poor quality—and reduced market value—of much of the grain. Rod Morris, "An always, the quality of the crop depends on harvest conditions, and, needless to say, conditions have not been ideal this year." Indeed, the wet weather affected most of the grain belt, inflicting areas that escaped this summer's drought and had expected bountiful crops, such as the farmlands near Vermilion, Alta., and much of Manitoba.

As a result, officials of the Winnipeg-based Wheat Board, which is responsible for all Canada's overseas grain sales, expected to downgrade much of the wheat normally sold for flour to livestock feed. That meant farmers stood to receive less money for their wheat, which is graded according to its moisture and protein content. The Wheat Board last week was paying \$181.31 a ton for No 1 grade wheat and \$166.21 a ton for wheat graded No 3. Much of the wheat that is graded below No 3 can only be sold as feed grain, at about \$135 a ton. Facing a shortage of No 1 wheat, the board is restricting sales of top-grade milling wheat to Canada's regular overseas customers, such as Britain, Japan, Egypt, Brazil and the Soviet Union.

Of the three wheats, Saskatchewan and Manitoba appeared to be the hardest hit. In Manitoba, which had seven inches of rain in August and 12 inches of snow earlier this month, 30 to 40 per cent of the wheat crop is usually graded No 1. But this year, said Rod Wray of Manitoba's department of agriculture, "we've got about 10 per cent No 1, about 30 per cent No 2 and about 60 per cent No 3 or worse." In Saskatchewan, where only 15 per cent of an estimated 18-million-ton crop was in stores, only 30 per cent of red spring wheat in expected to make the No 1 grade—compared to an average of 50 per cent in past years.

Some farmers were fighting back against the wet weather. Grant Helgeson, a farm equipment dealer in Ponca Lake, Sask., and sales of automatic grain dryers have soared. "The phone is ringing off the hook," said Helgeson. For those who cannot afford dryers, at a cost of as much as \$38,000, a government bailout may be the only alternative.

Last week Ottawa was considering an aid package proposed by a special federal-grain advisory committee set up in this month. In the meantime, farmers say they need only two weeks of good weather to dry and harvest what is left of the crop. Understandably, they looked to the Prairie skies for relief.

—GINNY BARRETT with correspondents' reports

## Ottawa settles down

After presiding over the demise of two Canadian banks in as many months, Minister of State for Finance Barbara McDougall had some reason last week to seem jumpy. The ailing Mercantile Bank of Canada, which had threatened to become a shoddy banking casualty, announced that it hoped to merge with another Montreal-based operation, the National Bank of Canada. Speaking to reporters, McDougall seemed on the verge of panic as she said on the impending merger to deliver. "I think it indicates that the viability that we've been talking about is there. And I think it's very important for the banking system that we all see that it's still there."

Of equal importance to McDougall—though she did not say so—was the fact that a solution to the Mercantile's cash problems would save Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government from another political crisis. Deftly in recent weeks by the collapse of the Alberta-based Commercial and Northland banks, a series of scandals, two ministerial resignations and allegations of lying and cover-ups, the government last week appeared to be moving through less troubled waters. The Economic Council of Canada in its 30th annual review reported that the nation's economic outlook "is steadily improving." And a Gallup poll published last week—though conducted in early September, before the latest spate of government troubles—indicated that Mulroney's Conservative government then had the support of 48 per cent of the electorate compared with a low of 40 per cent two months earlier.

But the opposition Liberals—flashed by only 20 per cent of those surveyed last month by Gallup—kept up their criticism on the government. In the Commons while Mulroney was attending the conference of Commonwealth leaders in the Bahamas (page 38) Liberal or Sheila Copps attempted to unmask a new conspiracy by arguing that Fred Deacon, a senior adviser to Mulroney, should resign because he is being sued by financier Walter Wolf over a so-called business deal in the early 1980s (Maclean's, Oct. 28). Copps claimed that the lawsuit could tarnish Deacon in confidence of interest if he participated in decisions about offshore energy resources in the Atlantic region.

For his part, Liberal Leader John Turner accused the government of "time-wasting" over the role in the sale of Gulf Canada Ltd. to QP Energy & Resources Ltd. last August. Turner said the cabinet knew in advance about a \$1-billion tax break on Gulf assets that helped Oxygene & York go through with



McDougall, moving into calmer waters

the \$18-billion Gulf purchase. Turner based his remarks on an interview last week in which former deputy finance minister Marshall (Maclean's) Cohen—now a senior executive of CIBC—said the Gulf sale was discussed "a couple of times" by the cabinet's powerful Privy Council and Planning Committee, although he signed out of the discussion. But Finance Minister Michael Wilson told the House that while the cabinet had talked about the Gulf deal, it left tax rulings to Revenue Canada.

In the meantime, there was a new round of speculation over Turner's future as leader of the party. The scandal was the publication in *Metroland* of a memoir by Liberal MP Jean Chrétien, who was Turner's principal opponent in the 1984 Liberal leadership bid. As Turner's opponents in the party grew, his critics pointed to his leadership, some politicians said that Chrétien's book, which is notably silent on the subject of Turner, was the opening round in an attempt to supplant the leader. As Turner stood outside the Commons last week refusing to comment on his party's dwindling public support, Chrétien was nervously button-holing fellow Liberals and autographing his book.

—PHIL GERRARD in Ottawa

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## A premier under attack

A Canada's longest-serving premier, New Brunswick's Richard Hatfield, who took office on Nov. 15, 1978, has learned the arts of survival. But after a year of setbacks, which included his trial and conviction on drug possession charges last January and his more recent, highly publicized role in Ottawa's racist taxi cab affair, the 64-year-old premier's political skills are being tested as never before. Then, last month a group of dissident party members called openly for his resignation. And last week the rebels con-



Hatfield demands for a party leadership review

spired for a leadership review at the party's annual meeting in Saint John next month. "We would have liked him to go gracefully," declared a Tory riding official, who requested anonymity. "But now we'd just like him to go."

Grassroots concern about Hatfield's leadership coalesced when 50 Conservative party writers formed a group called Leadership Initiative '80, which now claims representation from 30 of New Brunswick's 68 ridings and the support of three Tory members of the legislature. After a meeting earlier this month Saint John-Pondy M.A. Beaudry Harrison declared that the group's choices of forcing a leadership review were "looking good." Earlier, he predicted a "bloodbath" if Hatfield insisted on trying to stay on.

Still, the dissidents are unable to pre-

dict how many delegates would support a leadership review in November. Because the party lacks a formal leadership review procedure, the rebels will have to introduce a resolution at the party meeting and obtain approval by a majority of delegates.

Hatfield's problems have multiplied since police charged him last October with marijuana possession. Following his arrest, two former students claimed that the beleaguered premier invited them to a late night drug party. As well, his government's support for the province's policy of official bilingualism has provoked an angry reaction among New Brunswick's English-speaking majority. At the same time, Hatfield's role in the racist taxi affair—federal opposition leaders accused former federal fisheries minister John Fraser of yielding to pressure from the provincial leader to release the taxi to stores—led to new criticism of the premier.

The Conservatives have lost two by-elections this year, and many Tories say they are concerned that if Hatfield leads the party into the next election, which must be held by October, 1987, it could be defeated by Frank McKenna's opposition Liberals. In an effort to reassert his authority, Hatfield, three months ago shuffled his cabinet and reduced the number of government departments to 17 from 22. But party dissidents said that they were disappointed by the action. It was, declared Eric Bangay, chairman of the dissident group, "just another example of a failure of leadership." Bangay added that Hatfield was "about the weakest individual politically I've ever run into. But lately it seems everything he touches turns to garbage."

Hatfield has said repeatedly recently that he plans to lead his party into the next election. "I'm leading the party and leading the government," he told reporters earlier this month. "I have the support of the people of New Brunswick, and when I lose that I'll have to step down."

—KATHERYN HAMILTON in Fredericton

# A smooth number.



## Redress for a nurse



Nelles \$190,000

Fear and a half years ago police investigating the mysterious deaths of more than 50 babies at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children charged nurse Susan Nelles with the murder of four infants. After a 1982 preliminary hearing a provincial court judge dismissed all charges against Nelles, and a subsequent judicial inquiry exonerated her. Last June, Nelles declined an offer of \$170,000 in compensation from Ontario's then-Conservative government because it was not enough. But last week Nelles said that she would accept an offer of \$190,000 from Ian Scott, attorney general in Ontario's new Liberal government, to cover her legal costs. The next day Nelles' lawyer, John Sheehy, said he would take her \$90,000 malpractice payment suit against the attorney general—rejected by the Ontario Court of Appeal—to the Supreme Court of Canada. Sheehy said the \$190,000 had compensated his client for her legal expenses but not for the "humiliation and pain" which she had suffered.

## A defender's death

During his 30-year career Montreal criminal lawyer Frank Sheehy became a local celebrity because of his flamboyant style and a client list that included government members of the Montreal underworld. Sheehy, who dispensed red-felt business cards with his name embossed in gold, defended Richard Blais, the notorious gangster killer who was shot by the police in 1975, and was a defense lawyer during an incident into the 1978 slaying of Montreal gang leader Paolo Toffi. Sheehy was also known as Montreal's working-class St-Jacques for sponsoring sports programs and providing legal aid for the area's young people. But last week as he was leaving his Sherbrooke Street office in St-Jacques, just before midnight, Sheehy, 64, was fatally shot four times in the head. Minutes later a man telephoned the Montreal Gazette to claim that Sheehy had been killed by an organization called the Red Army Liberation Front. Montreal police officials said they had never heard of the organization. Coincidentally, just a few minutes before his death, Sheehy talked to *Weekend*'s contributing editor Dan Rubin. At the end of their conversation he expressed interest in saying "I have to get going. I still have a million things to do."

## In a scandal's wake

The Star-Kist Canada Inc. tuna-canning plant in St. Andrews, N.B., gained prominence last month after Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government was rocked by controversy over some of the factory's scandal output. Former Fisheries minister John Fraser was forced to resign after it was revealed that he concealed federal inspectors who declared some shipments of canned tuna unfit for human consumption. Earlier this month Michael Dugas, a former Star-Kist laboratory technician, told inspectors that he resigned from the company in 1984 because officials at the firm were ignoring their own employees' complaints about tainted

fish. Dugas claimed that Star-Kist officials sometimes overbore sample cans of tuna which had been set aside for inspection in order to get the shipments approved by federal inspectors. Then, last week Star-Kist announced that the plant will close down for at least two weeks—putting 400 employees out of work—and reopen in November when a new shipment of tuna is expected to arrive from Mexico. President and plant manager Al Cropley denied that the shutdown was a ploy to prevent permanent closure of the plant, which has suffered from labor disputes and over-fishing rules as a result of the tuna scandal.

## Territorial shake-up

Under the Northwest Territories' autonomy political system, members of the legislature assembly get a chance every two years to review the performance of government ministers—and vote on them: they find them out, perform well—or the governing executive council, the equivalent of a provincial cabinet. And last week the territories' 24 MLAs used their power to stage the most dramatic government shake-up ever. Voting by secret ballot, they defeated Government Leader Richard Noyes and Resources Minister Martin Gwynne from the eight-member council—and brought in two new members, businessman Red Pedersen and former Yellowknife mayor Michael Ballantyne. Noyes, elected as the first native government leader in 1983, had angered some MLAs who said that he was arrogant and isolated. But others said that the ambitious Noyes, 22, was one of Canada's most promising native leaders, and his departure surprised many of the territories' 50,000 residents. With Pedersen and Gwynne defeated, whites outnumbered natives 66 on the executive council—although the assembly has a native majority. As a result, several political observers said, the council will probably choose another native when it meets this week to nominate a new government leader. One early candidate, 41-year-old Local Government Minister Nick Silkenstein.

## Johnson's new team



Landry promotion

At rumors of a pre-Christmas election gathered strength in Quebec last week, Premier Jacques Parizeau shook up his cabinet. Johnson, who succeeded René Lévesque as leader of the ruling Parti Québécois late last month, promoted leadership rival Bernard Landry to the finance ministry and named Jean-Guy Frenet, mayor of the Montreal suburb of Boucherville, to replace Landry as external trade minister. Louise Bruchman, Quebec's former official representative in France, was named minister for international relations, former and current Lou Doona became status of women minister, and Rollande Chouin, a prominent feminist, was named minister of citizens' relations. Johnson said that Frenet and the three women—who do not hold annual assembly seats—would seek election within six months. But political observers predicted that Johnson—though his party has trailed Robert Bourassa's Liberals in recent public opinion polls—might well call an election this week for Dec. 2.

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# A HIJACKING'S FALLOUT

One bullet hole in the back of his head, another in his chest, the battered body of Leon Klinghoffer washed ashore in Syria last week, eight days after his disappearance from the hijacked Italian cruise liner Achille Lauro. The fate of the orphaned 68-year-

old man seemed ill-fated—generated a fierce new controversy. In Italy the coalition government of Socialist Prime Minister Bettino Craxi collapsed after Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini, leader of the Republican Party, withdrew his support. Spadolini said that he blamed Craxi for allowing Palestine

month-old conflict took place just 20 days before it would have become Italy's longest-ruling government since 1945. First, Spadolini withdrew because he said that he was not sufficiently consulted during the crisis. Then, Craxi rejected claims that he should have prevented the departure of Abbas, instigating



Craxi resigning in parliament: recommitments, an angry showdown, long-term consequences and a sense of bitterness

old American tourist, who was shot and then dumped overboard, fanned the focal point of the hijacking drama. That drama began when four Palestinian gunmen seized the ship on Oct. 7 near the Egyptian port of Alexandria, and it ended four days later when U.S. F-14A fighter jets forced an Egyptian Boeing T-47—with the escaping hijackers on board—to land in Sicily. A postmortem autopsy in Syria confirmed that Klinghoffer had died of gunshot wounds and contradicted Palestinian claims that he had died of a heart attack. Then, the body was flown to Rome, where Italian doctors confirmed the Syrian report. For Klinghoffer's grieving relatives, at least, the recovery of the body brought a measure of relief. Declared finally dead, Lenny Shover "The family is pleased that their father will be coming to them in rest."

The identification of Klinghoffer's body—and Washington's decision to li-

berationist Front leader Mohammed Abul Abbas—who had accompanied the terrorists on the Egyptian jet—to escape without investigating U.S. claims that Abbas had masterminded the hijacking setback.

At the same time, the capture of the hijackers severely disrupted the fragile Middle East peace process. Egypt, Washington's classic ally in the Arab world, was convulsed by anti-American riots. In President Hosni Mubarak condemned the seizure of the Egyptian airliner. Mubarak had worked closely with Jordan's King Hussein in spearheading a peace initiative aimed at bringing U.S., Jordanian and Palestinian representatives together for the first time. That plan, observers said, is now in serious jeopardy. Among the new well-meaning, Hussein reminded, "I think disaster will overwhelm all of us in our area and maybe affect the world."

The sudden collapse of Craxi's 36-

day Italian had incalculable legal grounds for halting Abbas. The debate was both personal and ideological. But Spadolini is a longtime rival of Craxi, and his own coalition government collapsed in 1982 after Craxi withdrew his Socialist Party's support. As well, Spadolini's proposed Socialist base traditionally opposed the Socialist's sympathetic policy toward the Arab world and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In Washington officials declared that the administration is angered by the decision to release Abbas, a close associate of its chairman Yasser Arafat. U.S. authorities said that Craxi's decision was influenced by Italy's vital trade relationship with the Arab world, from which it imports 70 per cent of its oil, and its tacit agreement with the PLO that in return for Rome's diplomatic support for Arafat Italy would not be a target of terrorist attacks.

As President Francesco Cossiga be-

gan once again on the formation of a new government, analysts predicted that the strains in Italian-American relations would eventually ease. Despite last week's recommitments, relations between Washington and Rome have been complex. Craxi has been a firm supporter of NATO policies, including the deployment of American cruise missiles in Europe, and he has endorsed U.S. research into developing the so-called Star Wars strategic defense umbrella in space. The two nations had also mounted an effective bilateral war on organized crime.

Still, in Craxi's address to the Italian parliament last week he was clearly resentful of the American actions. Criticizing Rome's readiness to launch a commando raid on the Achille Lauro that

the day after Craxi's administration collapsed, a U.S. state department official said simply, "There is sympathy for an ally confronting a difficult moment."

Meanwhile, the posthijacking developments caused serious concern among Palestinians at Arafat's Tunisian base. The most serious setback was Syria's terse announcement that it had found Klinghoffer's mutilated corpse. The body—additional evidence that Palestinian gunmen had murdered an elderly state victim—led to a wheelchair—effectively destroyed the PLO's attempt to win diplomatic respectability and a chair at any future Middle East peace conference.

Indeed, the Klinghoffer murder was a victory for Arafat's enemies in Israel and Syria. The Israelis have traditional-



Klinghoffer daughters Lisa and Rita, Spadolini (above) a measure of relief

ly said that the PLO's facilitation with diplomacy was merely an attempt to gain U.S. recognition. Declared Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, during a three-day visit to Washington, "At last Israel's truth has become the world's truth."

After meeting with Reagan at the White House, Peres extended "the hand of peace" to Jordan but he avoided any mention of the Palestinians. The hard-line Syrians, too, were silent at the chance to denounce what they view as Arafat's drift toward outright recognition of Israel.

The erosion of the PLO's campaign for legitimacy was also evident in Europe. Last week British Foreign

Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe called a landmark meeting with two top negotiators, Archbishop Egon Kasper and former West Bank mayor Mohammed Milhem. Howe said that the two men had reneged on "unambiguous statements" that they would endorse a statement renouncing violence and recognizing Israel's right to exist. Howe added that the two had approved the contents of that statement two weeks ago at a meeting in Amman, Jordan. But Milhem declared that Britain had introduced new clauses and as a result he refused to sign it. Then, Hamas announced in a televised interview that there had been no last-minute alterations by London. The blame, he said, lay with the PLO.

As more details of the hijacking emerged, Italian prosecutors said that the hijackers' motives in seizing the Achille Lauro may have been to win the release of jailed Palestinians in Israel. That view contradicted Israeli, American and Palestinian claims that the terrorists had planned to carry out an attack when the vessel docked at the Israeli port of Ashdod and that they had resorted to hijacking only after they were spotted by a security guard cleaning their weapons. But according to the ship's captain, Gerardo De Rosa, the hijackers intended to take the ship to Beirut, Syria, where they planned to go ashore with American hostages. When Damascus refused to allow them entry to Syrian waters, the ship sailed to Port Said, Egypt. There, after negotiations with Abbas and Egyptian and Italian diplomats, the hijackers finally surrendered.

But the Italian prosecutors could not immediately verify allegations by Washington that Abbas had directed the hijacking. A tape recording of ship-to-shore conversations between the hijackers and a news bulletin to be Abbas was released by Israeli intelligence last week. In it, the hijackers say they are "awaiting his orders." Israel also claimed that Abbas receives \$100,000 a month from Arafat for his services to his fighters. In Syria, Abbas said he had only role was to mediate on and to the incident.

In the meantime, the Reagan administration was wide popular support for its decision to divert the Egyptian plane to Italy. But the long-term consequences could be serious. Said Robert Neumann, a former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia: "The political fallout is very serious. Mubarak has been hurt. Jordan's peace initiative is in shambles. It undermines my favorite definition of history as one damn thing after the other."

MARY J. FARMER in Toronto with DAVID HARRIS and in London with DAVID HARRIS, ROBERT WILSON, and DAVID HARRIS. JIM MITCHELL in Cairo and DAVID HARRIS in London.

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Prime Ministers Gandhi, Thatcher and Mulroney in Nassau, an appeal for clemency

SARAHAN

## Searching for consensus

**I**n the final hours before Benjamin Mokebe was to face a South African kangaroo, leaders at representatives from 46 of the Commonwealth's 48 countries gathered in closed session thousands of miles away in a Bahamas resort hotel. Failing aside a divisive debate on a common strategy against apartheid, the Commonwealth leaders on Thursday issued an urgent appeal for clemency for Mokebe, a 58-year-old black poet and supporter of the outlawed African National Congress. The appeal was unsuccessful. Mokebe was hanged the next morning for his role in the murder of a black policeman in 1982.

The sanctions reflected the frustration and division in the Commonwealth itself. A quarter-century after South Africa left the organization under pressure from other members—led by Canada's Prime Minister John Diefenbaker—against apartheid, South Africa's policies of white minority rule and racial separation persist as divisive Commonwealth issues. At the Nassau conference British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—whose nation has major investments and commercial stakes in that country—was alone in her refusal to endorse joint economic sanctions. After the heads of government overrode last Wednesday some African and Asian members declared that without action on South Africa the future of the Commonwealth was in doubt. Declared Dr. Mubasher bin Mohamed, prime minister of Malaysia: "If the Commonwealth refuses to do something definite, then

the club should admit that it really cannot contribute toward solving the problems of its members."

By week's end, the politicians retired, without advisers, to the Bahamas resort of Leford Cay for a weekend retreat, to search for a compromise that would let Thatcher maintain her opposition to sanctions but still permit the Commonwealth to write behind measures to press South Africa to dismantle apartheid.

So divisive had the debate become, that Queen Elizabeth II, in Nassau in her ceremonial role as head of the Commonwealth, intervened personally, urging Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to prevent a dispute. She made similar appeals to two former advocates of sanctions, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke. One compromise under discussion involved a graduated escalation of sanctions. The Commonwealth would forgo immediate measures but present Pretoria with a timetable for ending apartheid and with the prospect of further pressure if it failed.

With the outcome still in doubt, Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Brindith (Benny) Bhebeke recalled Diefenbaker's role in the 1981 expulsion of South Africa. He added, "Maybe we can do some work here that might lead to South Africa coming back into the Commonwealth." But at week's end, that seemed a very distant dream indeed.

—KEN MACGREGOR in Nassau

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THE UNITED STATES

## In defence of Star Wars

President Ronald Reagan covered 4,000 miles in a day last week to raise funds for two Republican senators. But the message that he carried was aimed at audiences far beyond the crowds he addressed in Milwaukee, Wis., and Boise, Idaho. Reagan devoted most of his speeches to an controversial Strategic Defense Initiative, the space-based antimissile system popularly known as Star Wars. The President declared that his spacewar project is both cost-effective and politically moral. His remarks paralleled those of Secretary of State George Shultz, who spent part of last week in both San Francisco and Brussels trying to gain support for Star Wars among NATO allies.

Both men made their remarks after the administration itself raised new concerns about the defence project. As Reagan prepared to meet four allied leaders in New York this week—a prelude to his Nov. 10-11 summit session with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev—a series of contradictory remarks by administration officials on whether the Star Wars program violated the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty with Moscow caused alarm among governments of some of Washington's closest partners. Acknowledged one administration aide. "This has been a week of damage control."

The damage began when U.S. national security adviser Robert McFarlane announced that the administration had arrived at a new interpretation of the 1972 treaty, which limits the development of anti-missile systems. The new reading, McFarlane said, allows for the development and testing of space-based laser and particle-beam weapons but would outlaw their actual deployment. That declaration triggered a misinterpretation, shared by the past three U.S. administrations, that the arms accord prohibits large-scale testing of missile defenses. But it did reflect the position of Pentagon hard-liners, who have been

pressing for a more permissive definition of the treaty.

In allied capitals the ABM treaty is considered a cornerstone of deterrence policy, a safeguard against either superpower undermining the nuclear standoff. Said Thomas Blanton, the Canadian co-chairman of the Conservative committee reviewing Ottawa's foreign policy. "We regard the ABM treaty as sacrosanct." After McFarlane's announcement, West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher sent a strongly worded letter to Shultz demanding clarification. And in San Francisco, where the Reagan administration was seeking support for Star Wars research from lawmakers from 38 nations at the North Atlantic Assembly—NATO's parliamentary wing—feeling ran so high that Canadian delegate leader Allan Rockwood tried to keep the nation from coming to a vote to avoid undermining Reagan's position in Geneva.



Shultz damage control

Shultz flew to San Francisco to reassure the delegates that, although the administration did indeed believe in a "broader interpretation" of the treaty, Reagan himself had decided that no research would proceed "in accordance with a restrictive interpretation." His speech was credited with winning a 61 to 13 vote for no research. Shultz then flew immediately to a Brussels meeting of NATO foreign ministers, where he repeated that Reagan did not intend either to circumvent or weaken the treaty. Genscher, for one, said that he was satisfied with the assurances. But privately many allied leaders said that the President's decision may only be a temporary one. And this week, when he meets the leaders of Canada, Britain, West Germany and Japan at United Nations headquarters in New York, Reagan is likely to face tough questioning on his position.

—MARIE MCGRATH in San Francisco

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## LIBERIA

## Assuring victory



Doe: chilling story

chance that the victor would be Doe, the former army master sergeant who machine-gunned his way to power on April 12, 1980. Still, leaving nothing to chance, a military officer who helped Doe come to power, Col. Harrison Penson, threatened to topple any new government not led by Doe's National Democratic Party. That warning capped a six-week election campaign marked by the harassment and jailing of prominent opposition politicians—despite a warning from the United States that it would withhold \$60 million in aid if there were election irregularities. As a result, some Liberians feared a shuffling away in a ploy by Doe that the election needed a "new chapter in its history."

## PAKISTAN

## Democracy with doubts

"Charterism is being buried forever," declared Pakistan's President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, as the national assembly last week approved a controversial indemnity bill that pardons Zia and the army for seizing power in 1977. The bill, a prelude to a promised return to civilian government in January, also ensures the enforcement of many of the president's martial law decrees. In addition, it suppresses last year's disputed referendum that gave Zia a further five-year mandate. While the legislation seems a likely return of political parties banned in 1979, Zia will retain the right to appoint the prime minister and provincial governors and to renege, at his convenience, personal freedoms guaranteed in the 1973 constitution that he suspended. Opponents said that the military may not readily accept a return to the barracks. But, amidst the trials of Argentine generals following that country's return to democracy in 1982, Zia has skillfully suggested immunity for his soldiers. As well, he has asked the United States to double its next aid package to Pakistan to \$4.0 billion—nearly half of which will go to the army.

## BELGIUM

## A vote for stability

Historically divided by language and regional differences, Belgium's Flemish-speaking and francophone communities arrived at a majority consensus last week in favor of political stability. They re-elected the four-party coalition government dominated by Christian Democrats, representing both linguistic groups, to a second four-year term under Flemish

Prime Minister Wilfried Martens. The Martens coalition, already the most durable of the 32 Belgian governments since the Second World War, gained two seats for a majority of 115 in the 212-seat Chamber of Deputies. The emboldened Flemish and francophone Socialist opposition gained six seats, but trailed with 67. The Martens victory has been attributed to broad support for his socialist economic program. Since the 1984 election, he has cut government spending by one-third, reduced the annual inflation rate from 14 to five per cent and helped to increase industrial output. But analysts said that unless a 13.4-per-cent unemployment rate is reduced, Belgium's political stability could be jeopardized.

## POLAND

## Testing solidarity

For Polish voters in last Sunday's parliamentary election, the only real issue was whether to vote or not. Leaders of the outlawed Solidarity trade union had campaigned for a boycott of the vote, claiming that the nation's 460-seat Sejm (parliament) is a mere rubber stamp for Communist Party votes. A 15-per-cent turnout had been considered essential for the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski to survive both Russian Bloc and Western nations—especially foreign creditors—that Poland has required stability since the official ban on Solidarity in 1982. Poland, which has a foreign debt of \$27.4 billion, is seeking to reschedule more than \$2 billion in loans. As the ballots were counted last week, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa claimed that only 66 per cent went to the polls. But government spokesman Jerzy Urban, maintaining that "the boycott was boycotted," said that 76.8 per cent of Poland's 36 million eligible voters cast ballots. While that was lower than the 99.9-per-cent turnout for the last election in 1980, Urban declared that last week's poll represents "a vast acceptance by the majority of the permanence of the system."

## NICARAGUA

## A junta under siege



Ortega: beleaguered

port what he termed U.S.-backed aggression. Still, the beleaguered government's suspension of such rights as habeas corpus and freedom of expression drew denunciations from opponents within the country and from Washington. U.S. State department spokesman Bernard Kohn termed the suspension of civil rights "the result of growing difficulties met with the Sandinista regime by large sectors of the population." But despite the pressure at home and abroad, Ortega vowed to stand firm, declaring: "We cannot allow acts of aggression to continue unchecked."

## PEOPLE



Cherise and friends: 12 Slough from the Heart Turner came out better than Mulroney

Seven hundred guests gathered at a gala event held in the ballroom of Montreal's Grand Hotel last week to launch Liberal external affairs critic Jean Chrétien's political memoirs. Brought from the Heart: Recounting that Liberal Leader John Turner had asked him how he was portrayed in the book, Chrétien, who lost his bid for the Liberal leadership to Turner last year, said, "I told him he came out better than Brian Mulroney." For his part, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau acknowledged that he had not yet read the book and he added that his former mentor for external affairs wanted to give him a copy of the French version, *Cherise: Pour une vie en l'âme* (In the Love's Bed). Declared Trudeau: "He didn't think I read English very well."

As actress Norma Dell'Agnes, who played her film debut in the 1973 Canadian movie *Moushalla*, which starred Bill Murray, and who also was high praise this year for her performance as Sister Gertrude in *Norman Jewison's* *Agnes of God*, says that she has now played "everything from a naid to a nun." The versatile Toronto native and former Stiller instructor, whose parents are from northern Italy, will not disclose her age because, she says, "I still want to be able to play teenage parts" (she is, in fact, 35). While waiting for one of these parts Dell'Agnes is refining her comedy routine at two clubs in New York. Her last show for the past 18 months, *Stand-up* "Stand-up comedy is something I've always been terrified of, and I've taken the attitude

that it's new or never." Besides, she said, "It's good for between guys. You don't have to feel like you're performing."

Author Nancy Friday, 41, capitalized on her own feelings of guilt and sexual anxiety to produce three best-selling books over the past decade. Now she says that the books—*My Secret Ger-*

*Dell'Agnes: There's a need to a cure!*



den, *My Mother/My Self* and *Men in Love*—all led to her new one, *Jewels*. The Charleston, S.C.-raised Wednesday College art history graduate who is now based in both New York and Key West, Fla., says that "jealousy is the most destructive human emotion and it has the power to paralyze and make you feel like a second piece of Keweenaw." Friday added that although she considers the emotion to be a "talent killer," it is possible to overcome its devastating effects. A former freelance journalist who has been married to writer William Maxwell for 18 years, Friday credits early feminism and *Confessions* magazine editor Margaret Anderson for sparking her interest in the subject of jealousy. Added Friday: "Hein wrote me on several occasions to write a piece on jealousy, and I finally did—it was the only one of my articles she ever turned down."

Parformer Rowan Atkinson, 30, earned his "funniest man in Britain" title with the popularity of the TV series *Nut the Nine O'Clock News*. The program, an original blend of current events, is carried by the BBC and by public broadcasting channels in Canada and the United States. The one-man stage show, *Rowan Atkinson in Rome*, was a hit both in Britain and in Australia, and this week he is scheduled to appear in Toronto for his first live performance in North America. Atkinson said that his stage show contains a collection of songs and sketches—some political, some satirical, but "clever" than his TV material. Send the draft comic, whose dry humor is based on understatement: "I have never performed on this side of the Atlantic so in a very much a case of seeing if anyone laughs—if they don't, I will just go home."

An electrical engineering graduate from Oxford who started doing stand-up comic routines as a university, Atkinson added that he and his companions, making artist *Severin* *Severin*, 34, are excited at the chance to work in North America. Now he is preparing another season of his *The Blackadder* series for the BBC. Declared Atkinson: "It's a new world of high politics, power and wealth through the ages—a kind of medieval Dynasty."

—EDITED BY BETTE LADENIUS



Maclean leading a bitterly contested takeover fight that ended as an arms and buried the gentlemen's code of conduct

## BUSINESS/ECONOMY

# The showdown on Bay Street

It is an inquiry that may permanently alter the rules of conduct and disrupt some of the closest relationships in the Canadian business community. On Nov. 23, the Ontario Securities Commission will begin a hearing into one of the most harshly contested takeovers in the country's corporate history. Indeed, Unicom Canada Corp. of Toronto notified Bay Street last winter and spring when it took control of the much larger Union Gas Enterprises Ltd., a holding company for a Chatham, Ont.-based gas utility. In the process, both sides resorted to extremely tough tactics—and a controversial million-dollar publicity battle. Now, the OSC will try to determine whether Ontario's security laws were violated during the struggle.

The principal characters in the battle were among the most senior members of the business establishment. They included Derek McKenough, once Ontario's second most powerful politician, George Mann, an aggressive Toronto real-estate and stock market entrepreneur, Edward and Peter Bradstreet, who own the Beaverbrook engine, and the heads of Canada's

largest brokerage houses. Declared Thomas Leekwood, a securities lawyer who directed the OSC investigation of the takeover: "It is a fascinating affair. In terms of the issues and people involved, it will be among the most significant the OSC has ever encountered."

Specifically, the osc is prosecuting Unicom and its agent in the takeover, Gordon Capital Corp., for alleged violations of regulations concerning unequal treatment of shareholders. In addition, the commission has charged Gordon with insider trading—that is, passing along critical information relevant to stock investors that is not available to others. If convicted, Gordon, known for its aggressive, innovative and successful style of doing business, may face restrictions on its operating licence or even a licence suspension. But Mac-

lean's has learned that both Unicom and Gordon are trying to prevent the hearing from taking place at all. Indeed, late last week Gordon's lawyers from the Toronto law firm of Oiler, Hoskins and Harcourt said that they were considering a number of legal protective strategies. One, Maclean's has learned, is based on the fact that the OSC gave written permission for Gordon to do as he sees fit in the takeover. It is now accused of acting as a principal instead of an agent.

For its part, Unicom faced a possible order from the osc to pay minority shareholders of Union Enterprises Ltd., who hold approximately 13 million shares, the same \$13-a-share cash offer that it made early to large stockholders to gain control. To remove the necessity for that ruling, Unicom is now trying to negotiate a new offer to those investors.

## Search intriguing



Maclean's also learned that both Unicom and Gordon offer a seven-month investigation described by the commission as one of the most exhaustive and intense that it has ever undertaken. Six OSC staff members—four lawyers, an accountant and a police-trained investigator—spent 1,000 hours poring over documents and interviewing witnesses. Maclean's has learned that the osc subpoenaed between 80 and 100 witnesses. Over the course of the inquiry each were ordered to show up at the commission's offices at 10 a.m. on an appointed day. There they were all taken into a small, windowless meeting room where they were examined under oath by two or three investigators while a court reporter recorded the evidence. Many witnesses

The OSC decided to prosecute Unicom and Gordon after a seven-month investigation described by the commission as one of the most exhaustive and intense that it has ever undertaken. Six OSC staff members—four lawyers, an accountant and a police-trained investigator—spent 1,000 hours poring over documents and interviewing witnesses. Maclean's has learned that the osc subpoenaed between 80 and 100 witnesses. Over the course of the inquiry each were ordered to show up at the commission's offices at 10 a.m. on an appointed day. There they were all taken into a small, windowless meeting room where they were examined under oath by two or three investigators while a court reporter recorded the evidence. Many witnesses

to 500,000 shares of Ontario's Ontario-based firm in Chatham, Ont.

Leach read that the directors of Union were seeking government permission to set up a holding company, to be called Union Enterprises Ltd. That would effectively split the firm into two companies, one owning the gas utility would continue to be known as Union Gas Ltd., and the second, to be called Union Shield Resources Ltd., would be set up around Union's holdings in a pair of small but potentially lucrative Alberta-based oil and gas companies. The purpose of the proposed reorganization is to slide the company's western holdings out from under the Ontario Energy Board (OEB), which, as the regulator of provincial



Union Gas in Chatham, Ont.: a bunker mentality, hysterical comments and a desperate search for a corporate savior

proached by a Gordon engineer, while Gordon was acknowledging Union stock on the open market as a prelude to making a formal takeover bid, and warned that the \$100M \$13-a-share cash offer would soon be replaced by a less attractive paper offer when the deal became public. The trader notified privately to the osc last spring during its investigation. In a OSC hearing last winter Toronto investment manager William Rogers surprised the financial community when he testified that a Gordon takeover had given him just such a tip. Paul Little, Union's president of finance and corporate development at the time of the takeover, told Maclean's: "I understand that many others were given a similar story—namely in the big investigations.

as were still terrifying when the offer closed, and managers asked some of them to come back the next day. The managers also told the witnesses that they could not reveal that they had been called to testify. One witness told Maclean's: "It was said in a Star Chamber hearing."

The saga began far from Bay Street on the shore of Lake Huron, 280 km north of Toronto in Ontario's cottage country, at the summer home of James Leach, the handsome and personable president of Unicom Canada. One warm and sunny day in June, 1986, he was interrupted, he said, by a small newspaper story concerning Ontario's second-largest gas utility, Union Gas Ltd., a 74-year-old company that delivers

affinity, had to approve even minor financial moves by Union.

Leach said he realized instantly that the reorganization could potentially remove Union Enterprises from government regulations that prevented anyone from owning more than 50 per cent of a public utility. Union Gas would still be involved, but Union Enterprises, its owner, would be a fair takeover target. After conferring with George Mann, Unicom's silver-haired chairman and 60-per-cent owner who had seen the same article that day at his golf club, Leach bought 100 shares of Union Gas. He Unicom's "anti-takeover" portfolio. A group of more than 300 stocks that it holds in order to monitor other companies. For years, says the 50-year-old

Mann, he has dreamed of owning a business empire.

In 1978 Mann established Unicorp, a financial holding company, and he proceeded to acquire small stakes in other companies on the stock market, building on the profits he had made during the 1960s and 1970s in real estate and financial services. His business acquaintances acknowledge his ability to identify undervalued companies and either take them over or turn a profit by selling a stake to another buyer. In 1979 Unicorp assets—mainly stock holdings in other companies in the United States and Canada—totalled \$48 million. Six years and eight takeovers later it was worth \$2.2 billion. The company's growth was mainly a result of Mann's skill in hostile takeover battles. His acquisition of Searl estate company and an interest in a large financial institution in the United States have been marked by bitter and protracted struggles.

Last fall, as Mann studied the imminent reorganization of Union, he said that he had in this his last weapon in the battle for control of Union was already up for sale—to the management of the company. The largest single block of Union—5,200,000 shares or 14.3 per cent—was in the hands of G.M. Investments Ltd., an affiliate of Benson, the industrial and financial holding company controlled indirectly by Peter and Edward Bretherton. Benson's executive vice-president, Jack Cockwell, described by many members of the business community as its most brilliant tactician, had been dissatisfied with the profit performance of Union ever since the shares had been acquired in 1966. Said Union's Paul Little, McKenough's chief lieutenant until he resigned last April: "It was generally known that Cockwell wanted to sell the shares."

In December, 1981, the Ontario cabinet passed an order-in-council authorizing the reorganization of Union as Ontario Union Enterprises, effective on Jan. 1. That same month Leach went to see Cockwell for a friendly chat about business in general. Cockwell mentioned that Union Gas was "not a core investment" for GME; the company would be willing to sell the stock. Declined Leach: "My antennae went out about three feet when I heard that."

With the news that the GEs which might be available, Mann and Leach set about planning their attack. In early December they paid a call to James Gossacher, the tough-minded chairman of Gordon Gossacher, 48, had brought a new aggressiveness to the Canadian brokerage industry when taking over Gordon, in the late 1970s (page 44). His management style, which included tight money and an ability to handle large transactions with lightning speed, were



Jackman withdrawing support and sealing Union's fate

well suited to Unicorp's requirements for a quick payoff at Union Gossacher and Mann also had something in common: both were intensely disliked by the Bay Street establishment.

On New Year's Day, when Union Enterprises formally came into being, Gordon and Unicorp were poised to attack. And by Jan. 28, Gordon's agents had accumulated on the open market 4.5 million shares—12.3 per cent of the stock—in Union Enterprises. On Jan. 28 Leach met with Cockwell and Breanran president Trevor Eyles.

"We discussed several possibilities but it was clear that Cockwell wanted to unload his shares." Unable to afford any further cash purchases, Leach agreed to come back with a paper offer—stock in Unicorp in exchange for G.M.'s Union holdings. At 11:30 a.m. on Jan. 29 Cockwell received a letter from Leach offering six Unicorp preferred shares—then trading near \$11.50—a warrant, or right, to purchase another half a Unicorp share in the future. This was in exchange for each of G.M.'s Union shares. Cockwell accepted. The next day Unicorp publicly announced the takeover bid. Already, Mann had acquired a commanding 30 per cent of Union.

By the second week in January the heavy trading in Union shares had become obvious. On Jan. 26 Edwin Goodness, a prominent Toronto lawyer and Conservative backroom kingpin, approached his friend McKenough at the Ontario Tory leadership convention. The former Goodman and Goodman, had partner Larry Wansbury on the board of Unicorp, and Goodman had been brought in to work on behalf of Unicorp and Gordon. Goodness informed McKenough that in two days he would be able to give him some important news. On Jan. 28 McKenough and Little flew to Calgary for a series of business meetings. At 8 a.m. the next day Goodman telephoned McKenough at his hotel to inform him that Unicorp was the mystery buyer. He also told McKenough that Unicorp was seeking to buy the 1.1 million shares of Union held by GME. Replied Little: "Our first reaction was 'What Unicorp?'"

At the same time, Unicorp was mail-

ing circulars to each small Union shareholder notifying them of the takeover bid and offering them the same paper swap that GME had accepted. Not many of Union's shareholders were customers, farmers and schoolteachers in southwestern Ontario who took pride in supporting a long-established local company. And McKenough, the 59-year-old son of a prosperous local family in the plumbing contracting business, was reasonably popular. Soon both sides were buying full-page ads in newspapers across southwestern Ontario, each

rejecting the Unicorp offer. Then, he turned for support to what he knew best, the government of Ontario. After spending 15 years in the legislature—11 of them in cabinet—McKenough had acquired a legendary reputation for political connections. When he resigned in 1978 from his Treasury portfolio and the legislative assembly to become Ontario's premier William Davis, Not only that, Paul Little and businessman Jack Thompson, a longtime political associate, had both worked on Frank Miller's successful leadership campaign.



McKenough easily handles and local political influence

But McKenough overestimated his influence—or underestimated Unicorp's. Mann and Leach had few personal connections but they had strong business ties to several key backroom Tories. In addition to Goodman, Unicorp's lawyers included Herbert Solway, chief fund manager for leadership candidate Dennis Timbrell. David Weller, Miller's chief fund raiser, was chairman of Midland Equity Ltd., Unicorp's long-standing investment adviser. More important, relations between Miller and McKenough—never warm—were strained by McKenough's refusal to endorse Miller's leadership campaign. In the end the two forces cancelled each other. "Darcy and Eddie [Goodness] were both phoning people they knew, as they squared off even," said one cabinet insider.

Union's next move was to get one of its lawyers, Howard Beck, a senior partner in the Bay Street firm of Davies, Ward and Beck, to persuade the OGC to call a hearing into the takeover. Said Little: "He really believed that the securities commission was his man." But the early-February hearing did not prevent the takeover.

Indeed, the main event in the six-day hearing took place on day 2, when a Union lawyer put Toronto investment banker William Rogers on the stand. As Rogers told his story of being connected by a Gordon trader who told him that his share to buy Union stock for \$12 a share was about to be replaced by an inferior paper—the Gordon employee denied giving insider information—the hearing room fell silent. The referee officials then concluded that the entire takeover would require a thorough examination, and they swiftly set up an investigation that will culminate in next month's hearings—(It is a hell).

The management of Union continued its extensive search for another swap. On the board of directors sat McKenough and Little to buy another company, an action that would undoubtedly dilute Unicorp's holdings and make Unicorp a less attractive target. And on Feb. 28 they put in a takeover offer to purchase Burns Foods Ltd., a Calgary-based meat packing company owned by wealthy Mont-

Then Mann and some other full-page newspaper ads accused the Union directors of buying Burns "to protect their own interests as directors and to protect the chairman's job." But there was opposition to the Burns purchase within McKenough's camp as well. Paul Kornas, whose counsel advice was beginning to distance him from the inner McKenough circle. "With the Burns purchase Darcy took off the white hat and put on the black one," Mann importantly, it lost McKenough the support of another influential National Victoria and Grey Trust.

National's president, William Somerville told McKenough that if he bought Burns Foods, which he considered a bad investment, National would sell its Union shares. Despite the warning, on March 3 Union announced that it had bought Burns. That report angered H.N.R. (Hal) Jochman, an autistic member of Canada's blue-blooded business establishment and the controlling shareholder of National, who had grown increasingly uneasy about the fighting. He immediately telephoned David Welton at Midland Deliberate and asked if the company could find a buyer for his shares. Welton said yes.

On Monday, March 11, Jochman called Somerville to tell him that of his 600,000 of the shares could be sold for \$125.00 each. Later that day Somerville sent through a two-hour Union board meeting called to discuss Union takeover defense strategy, only to announce at the end that National was tendering its shares to Union. Jochman was able to offer his two million Union shares to Gordon, receive the usual package of Unionop stock in exchange—the same arrangement that was prevailed with other shareholders—and then sell his Unionop paper through Gordon to North Canadian Ltd., an after-Burnsman company, for \$125.00 each, or \$24 million.

The OEC alleges that during the takeover Gordon or Unionop persuaded other companies to buy Union shares for cash and tender them for Unionop paper. And the OEC alleges that Gordon persuaded others to buy Unionop paper—thereby creating a market for the stock—in order to provide cash to Union shareholders who were considering tendering. As a result, the sellers of the Union stock, most of them institutional investors well-known to Gordon, got

cash for these Union shares at a time when other shareholders had no option but to hold their Union shares or accept Unionop paper.

The third parties that helped the Unionop bid succeed in this way included the National Bank of Canada, in addition to being Mann's longtime banker also has been on the board, and the Continental Bank, which is 10-per-



Conservative backstop Kagan and Toronto lawyer Goodman: a mystery paper

cent Boardman owned and has several Boardman representatives on its board, as well as three other companies controlled by the Boardman. In subsequent interviews with McKenough, Unionop and Burnman executives deny, however, that they were acting in concert.

By March 15 Mann held 96 per cent of the Union common stock and 40 per cent of its voting shares. Unionop had won. Union made a brief attempt to launch a lawsuit against its opponents but it was abandoned and instead a trust was negotiated that gave Unionop 11 of the 39 seats on the board of Union Enterprises and preserved McKenough's status as chairman and CEO. After a winter of headlines the situation subsided for a few weeks.

But a subsequent Ontario Energy Board hearing into whether the takeover would harm national gas service in southwestern Ontario, resurrected the controversy. Old legal counsel John Campbell asked the board to have evidence related to the securities trading

And for 26 days in April and May, 39 witnesses recounted their version of the takeover. Campbell's report concluded that there would be no harm done to gas service but that the Union shareholders had been unfairly treated.

Four months later, in late August, the OEC staff finally completed its report recommending that charges be laid as a result into the actions of Unionop and

Gordon. The OEC commissioners, who can accept or reject a staff report, agreed that there was sufficient evidence to warrant a hearing. Spokesmen for both Unionop and Gordon say that they were surprised by that announcement on Sept. 12. Said Lerch: "We were stunned. We really thought the whole thing had faded away."

For his part, James Cosmichev has consistently refused to discuss the matter. But within the securities industry observers interpret the charges as an attempt to "get Gordon." Said Andrew Barlow of Bay Street investment firm Barlow and Zukerman Ltd. "It's not very pleasant for anybody. It's not easy on the surface."

If the hearing proceeds, a large part of the Canadian business community will be interested in what happens to Gordon. The largest share of securities trading is held in Toronto, and as a result the OEC effectively sets the standards for securities regulation. Said Lockwood: "Win or lose, this case will define the permissible parameters of action in a takeover bid." But for Bay Street it will be an uncomfortable public discussion of a once-private business matter.

—BRUCE WALLACE is involved with AMN WALLACE INC., MARY JANE CLARK, MARC CLARK and PETERA BERT in Toronto.



Campbell under stress

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# The challenge of a brash new breed

Some five or six months ago a number of a Toronto brokerage firm will reform a floor trader in the Toronto Stock Exchange that his company wishes to buy a certain chunk of stock. With that, the buyers and sellers of the bid will have completed a record \$40 billion worth of trading in 1988. Watching over that swirl of paper from the 17th and 18th floors of the Cadillac Fairview Tower three blocks north will be the 126 lawyers, accountants, investigators and staff of the Ontario Securities Commission.

It's a new game, OSC chairman Stanley Beck told Marlowe's. "All the old alliances are breaking down. It is exciting, but it makes regulation very difficult." On Nov. 19, after an exhaustive, seven-month investigation, the commission will open a hearing that promises to be one of the most highly publicized—and most important—in its history. The OSC alleges that serious trading irregularities took place during Toronto-based Unicorp Canada Corp.'s better known

and aggressiveness unmatched by any of its competitors. It has also shown a willingness to challenge legal restraints long accepted by fellow brokers. "The people at Gordon don't ask you how things are normally done," said one lawyer who has worked for the firm. "They ask exactly how far they can go."

In some ways Gordon's penchant for best-rookie has delighted the OSC. For decades Bay Street was a cozy club dominated by the country's half-dozen largest brokerage houses. Business was steady, commissions were fat, and competition was negligible. "In those days it was 'My turn today, your turn tomorrow,' and at the end of the year we divide up our single-figure commissions," said Beck, an unpretentious but highly regarded lawyer who took over as chairman in May after five years as dean of Toronto's Osgoode Hall law school. For one thing, Beck credits Gordon with saving customers millions of dollars by significantly reducing the brokerage industry's commissions on underwriting.

But OSC officials, who cite the Ontario Securities Act to regulate Bay Street, acknowledge that Gordon's willingness to challenge norms and bend rules puts the commission under tremendous pressure. F. Bernard Pasquillo, the OSC's 30-year-old director, is adamant that the commission "is not interested in prosecuting Gordon for its image." But he adds, "If people start reading the Securities Act for loopholes the way they read the Income Tax Act, then we have problems."

Still, many brokers were furious with the commission's refusal to ensure Gordon on the basis of testimony given at a commission hearing held in February into the Union Enterprise takeover. At that hearing William Joseph, a Toronto investment fund manager, testified that a Gordon salesman implied a takeover was in progress when he offered him cash for his 175,000 Union shares and told him that any follow-up offer would be less attractive. Such alleged insider information flies in the face of one of the OSC's most cherished doctrines—that all shareholders, large and small, must be given the same information upon which to base their investment decisions. For their part, executives from Gordon refused to be interviewed by Monckton's.

In the end, the commission set aside the allegations of insider trading. The hearing had been set up to address only the question of whether certain purchases of Union Enterprise stock before and after the announcement of the takeover had been leaked. When it ruled that there was no evidence of leakage and closed the hearing, the financial



Beck (left) and Pasquillo protecting the interests of minority shareholders

son. An regulator of one of the world's largest equity markets, the OSC oversees the sale of all stocks and commodities in Ontario. Indeed, since its formation in 1981 in the aftermath of the 1929 stock crash that led to the Depression, the commission has functioned as the best policeman of Bay Street, cladding the willful, defending the powerless and punishing the unruly.

But the OSC now faces a series of challenges that threatens to alter both the stock market and its low-key approach to regulating. For one thing, technological advances are breaking down barriers and reshaping financial markets the world over. For another, federal proposals to lift restrictions on the ownership of brokerage houses and other financial institutions would permit the entry of new participants into the stock-trading business. At the same time, break young traders from within the industry are challenging the estab-

lished norms of business. "It's a new game," OSC chairman Stanley Beck told Marlowe's. "All the old alliances are breaking down. It is exciting, but it makes regulation very difficult." On Nov. 19, after an exhaustive, seven-month investigation, the commission will open a hearing that promises to be one of the most highly publicized—and most important—in its history. The OSC alleges that serious trading irregularities took place during Toronto-based Unicorp Canada Corp.'s better known

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The trading room at Gordon Capital. They ask exactly how far they can go.

community responded angrily. "I was astounded," said Brian Aune, chairman of Nesbitt Thomson Bognard, a leading Montreal-based brokerage firm, "and, frankly, quite disillusioned with the commission." But even as the hearing wound down, a team of six OSC investigators was beginning the investigation that would lead to next month's hearing.

The hearing is only one of several important issues facing the commission.

The OSC is also grappling with the major question of whether to open up the stock brokerage business to outsiders. Last February the OSC released a report to the Ontario provincial government that recommended easing the restrictions on foreign ownership of brokerage houses in order to promote competition.

The OSC must also deal with the threat to the rat posed by technological change. Bespoke computers make it easy for Canadian companies to list their

stock and raise money on foreign exchanges, they no longer are forced to use local exchanges.

On Sept. 21, the rat, with the OSC's approval, took a first step in dealing with that problem when it opened a direct link with the American Stock Exchange, in New York. Canadian traders can now guarantee their clients the best stock prices in North America because they can buy and sell instantly on the American exchange. Sald Henry Knowles, a former OSC chairman: "If Stan Beck says a little ingenuity and the intellect God gave him, he could provide over the birth of the financial market of the future."

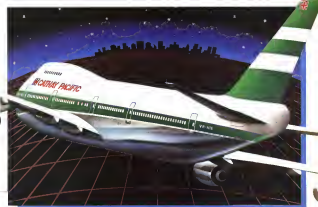
Still, some critics of the OSC say it is hampered by its bureaucratic nature. One rat official who requested anonymity said, "A lot of Penticote's immediate subordinates are longtime civil servants who do not take well to change." As well, the OSC faces some nagging structural problems. It has frequently been criticized as a captive of the very industry it regulates. Indeed, the men people appointed by the provincial government to head the commission are drawn largely from the securities industry. Moreover, many of the OSC's staff are young lawyers who use it as a stepping stone to higher-paid positions as practitioners on Bay Street—in the rat, working for the very firms they regulate.

The result, critics say, is that the OSC is rife with potential conflicts of interest. Two examples arose from next month's hearing. Beck, for one, has had to excuse himself from any part in the hearings because, his brother, lawyer Howard Beck of the Toronto firm of Dawson Ward & Beck, worked for Unico during the takeover.

OSC officials acknowledge that such ethics problems exist. But Beck points out that the situation is typical of a variety of phenomena known as "agency capture," which affects almost all government regulatory bodies. Those agencies must staff themselves with experts from the industry they regulate. For his part, Beck downplayed the significance of agency capture. The public will judge the commission on the basis of its performance, he said. Public approval and a vigorous financial press, he added, "are the only safeguards."

Indeed, the reputation of the OSC will be severely tested next month, when some of the highest firms in Canadian business file into an OSC hearing room for the start of the Gordon/Unicorp hearing. Sald Knowles: "If the commission goes against the popular consensus—or if the penalties are not seen to fit the crime—it will destroy much of the credibility of the entire financial community—and the rat."

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# A maverick Western nationalist

By Peter C. Newman

"Canada is to the United States what Winnipeg is to Toronto," says Dick Bonagante, whose family now dominates the prairie city, although he now does half his business out of the Ontario capital. "What scares me about free trade with the Americans is that it could move most corporate headquarters south of the border, just as Marjorie has lost nearly all of its head offices to Eastern Canada."

One of the West's most thoughtful and successful entrepreneurs, Bonagante has always been a bit of a maverick, going his own way and expounding his own philosophy with the gusto and confidence that suits his fond personality and his deep Establishment roots. Earlier this month Bonagante, a director of the Canada Development Corp., publicly criticised his president, Anthony Hampton, before a House of Commons committee.

"The real danger of free trade," he told me in a recent interview, "is that we could become a warehouse economy, as even the branch plants disappear as more their manufacturing facilities closer to the major U.S. markets. It's going to be a tension between Ontario and the rest of the country, but we'll have to protect ourselves from becoming more of a satellite economy than we already are."

Bonagante cites the example of an office equipment maker "I notice they're being around saying that they're great Canadian officials, which is bullshit. One of their executives told me that Ottawa had pushed them into getting an exhibit into an Australian trade show. They did and got \$5 million worth of orders, but because the plant in San Francisco was closer it got the business. That meant at least \$1.5 million in wages and \$4 million in marketing materials went down the drain as far as Canada was concerned."

Bonagante's personal position is to become the Canadian equivalent of Burger King so that he can remove himself from the constraints that govern the economic behavior of lesser men. One of the most imaginative players in the Alberta Oil Patch, he has quietly become a leading horse breeder and racer (in 1981, he sold in partnership with George Gilman \$1 million for Colin Smythe's stable) but was recently asked to resign from the Ontario Jockey Club for too fervently pushing his views about

the Canadianization of the industry. "Walter Gordon had it right in the first place," he says. "We've got to have a degree of Canadian ownership and control, so that the important decisions are made by people whose thought processes come from here. That means encouraging the means to create wealth in this country—which should allow Canada's investment community to spend it around. At the moment, they tend mostly to spend it among themselves."

Bonagante is convinced that the Foreign Investment Review Agency



Bonagante: a warehouse economy

could have been made to work. "It was a good idea, poorly executed. It should have laid down tough but easy-to-understand ground rules, then allowed capital into the country, provided it followed these guidelines. That's what they do in Japan, that's what they do in almost every country except this one. They reviewed only the big transactions, but the real money is made from the small buyouts that turn into big companies."

Bonagante, whose great-great-grandfather, Sir Richard, commanded Fort Henry during the 1837 Rebellion, blames a lot of what he thinks is wrong with Canada on our military roots in the English part of the country and the church hierarchy in Quebec, both totalitarian bureaucracies which de-emphasized individual effort and business enterprise. "If you examine most of the problems we have, everything seems to boil down to a conflict of interest between the individual interests of the people involved and the country's collective benefit. The amount of foreign investment in this country makes the problems worse, because its managers are always wearing two hats. Some time ago I was a member of an Alberta government committee on proposed oil and gas legislation. There were myself and three oil majors representing the seven sectors. So I said, 'Well, let's put on our Canadian hats and see how this would affect us as Canadians.' They all looked at me as if I was strange and then made the recommendations they wanted, which were not really in the best interest of Canada but reflected the mentality of their head offices."

Many of Bonagante's unorthodox ideas were formed in the early 1960s when he was a boy hood dealer with James Richardson & Sons, Ltd. and saw the Pearson government's nationalistic stance as an opening to launch new underwritings for the Canadian subsidiaries of American companies. He called on senior executives of about a hundred companies, and all but one said that under appropriate circumstances they would create a Canadian equity base, requiring only the promulgation of simple ground rules they could follow. Bonagante believes that this potential for Canadianization still hasn't been tapped.

George Cohen and I came to Toronto the same week in 1968," he recalls. "I eventually went on to run Harlequin, while George, of course, expanded the McDonald's hamburger chain. By the early 1980s much of the operations was bringing in about \$40 million before taxes—but there was one big difference. Harlequin was owned in Canada by Canadians, so at a multiple of 12 times earnings roughly \$500 million of new wealth was created—and all the dividends were spent here. The McDonald's investment didn't add one thing."

Peter C. Newman's book, *Company of Adventurers*, is published this month by Viking.

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## CITIES

# Bringing the waterfronts back to life

During the 20th century the western end of Montreal's harbor became a place of activity as freight trains unloaded shipments of prairie wheat at the port's grain elevators. Then, with the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 grain freighters were able to travel farther east with their cargo, unloading at new places as Bore City, and the Old Port section of the harbor gradually declined in importance. And after more than 80 years of proposals and planning, little has been done to rejuvenate the formerly owned 50-acre area on the St. Lawrence River. The latest plan calls for Ottawa to subsidize a \$25-million project, but last month the re-estimating Conservative administration from federal spending on the site. As well, Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau—who succeeded in transforming the site of Expo 67 into Man and His World, an exhibition park, has shown little interest in the Old Port. Still, such Canadian cities as Vancouver, Toronto and Halifax have succeeded where Montreal failed—turning downtown areas into thriving waterfront developments.

For one thing, big projects that

stimulated further development began in these cities during the early 1950s—before widely fluctuating interest rates and a recession reduced demand for new houses and commercial space. At the same time, the catalyst of revitalization have been as diverse as the cities themselves. In Vancouver, Ronald Burdett, when he was federal Liberal urban affairs minister, helped transform a decaying industrial area into a popular shopping district. In Halifax a group of citizens led by a history-loving schoolteacher created

to spend \$60 million expropriating a 50-acre warehouse area and converting it into a park. Since then the federal Harbourfront Corp. has spent another \$50 million upgrading the area to encourage the development of such centres as Queen's Quay Terminal. There, Toronto-based developer Olympia & York Developments Ltd. spent \$60 million converting a 50-year-old concrete warehouse into a design showpiece with a shopping arcade, a 400-seat dance theatre and 72 condominiums, some selling for more than \$200,000. To encourage business the city has allowed stores selling everything from furniture to high fashion to open for business on Sundays—an exemption that has made Queen's Quay Terminal one of the most popular weekend destinations on downtown Toronto.

Still, critics, including Toronto alderman Dorothy Thomas, say that, with its fashionable

Burdett concerned



stores, luxury condominiums and a marina, Harbourfront has failed to return the waterfront to ordinary local residents and instead has become a playground for the rich. And last week Toronto Planning Commissioner Stephen McLaughlin added to those criticisms by "framing the corporation's plans to build more stores, residential units, a museum and an aquarium on the site. Said McLaughlin: 'Harbourfront is getting out of control. The idea was that there would not be 30-storey buildings on the waterfront. Now there are three buildings of that height.'"

Meanwhile, in Montreal the federal government is considering proposals for the dismantled Old Port. Under the latest plan—submitted by Lavette Inc., a Montreal-based consulting firm—the

Indeed, many Montrealers have already indicated that they do not want large-scale developments at the Old Port. La Salle has appointed a seven-member committee to submit still more proposals for the area, and most of the 82 submissions received during four days of public hearings last month called for large open spaces and cultural attractions—such as a railway museum—to emphasize the area's historic importance. The committee will then present its recommendations to La Salle next January after studying the various briefs.

For his part, Burdett says that the redevelopment of Vancouver's Granville Island could serve as a model for successful waterfront revitalization. Burdett represented the riding of Van-

Burk Reif, a private developer, is leading a private-public partnership redevelopment project on the north shore of Lake Ontario. The project, which will cost \$25-million, will occupy the 320-acre site for six months next year. Then the province will remove the temporary buildings and sell the site to private housing and other areas with private developers. But the city government does not want to give away approval for all office and residential towers.

Across the continent, in Halifax waterfront renewal began with a high school principal's refusal to accept city council's decision of progress—as an emergency through the downtown core. Lou Collins began his fight to save old buildings on the harbor in 1964. And seven years later he had marshaled so much support that the city issued a concept-wide call for renovation proposals for seven historic but decaying waterfront warehouses. Council awarded the \$10-million project to local developer John Fiske that year, and by 1975 the renovated buildings had become one of the most fashionable business addresses in the city. Historic Properties, a mix of trendy boutiques, offices and restaurants.

At the same time, a provincial Crown corporation, the Waterfront Development Corp., now oversees the development of 55 acres on both sides of Halifax Harbour. The latest addition opened last June a copper-roofed, 200-room Sheraton hotel designed to blend in with the restored 19th-century buildings in nearby Historic Properties.

Still, the representation has been accompanied by some controversy. For one thing, development corporation president Harold Bonner says that it has not made the best use of a \$10-million grant to improve waterfront services and attract private developers to the area. The corporation did install landscaped brick sidewalks and improved sewer connections in the area but not made the best use of a \$10-million grant to improve waterfront services and attract private developers to the area. The corporation did install landscaped brick sidewalks and improved sewer connections in the area but not made the best use of a \$10-million grant to improve waterfront services and attract private developers to the area. The corporation did install landscaped brick sidewalks and improved sewer connections in the area but not made the best use of a \$10-million grant to improve waterfront services and attract private developers to the area.

Clearly, in Halifax, Toronto and Vancouver key sections of the waterfront have been saved. If comparable metropolitan areas of the cities they serve. But in Montreal, where two sets of railway tracks are among the most visible signs of the Old Port's busy past, that stage has not yet been reached.

—MALCOLM GIBBS with SHARON LUCIFER in Vancouver, ALAN TITMUS in Toronto, KATHY SULLIVAN in Montreal and SUSAN MCGILL in Halifax



Historic Properties: a teacher, a developer and seven threatened warehouses

company would install a hotel, offices, a public market, expensive boutiques and a railway museum in the site. Although Ottawa has already spent \$40 million repairing decayed wharves and building a pedestrian thoroughfare along the length of the Old Port, Public Works Minister Rick La Salle ruled out further large infusions of government funds for site development. As a result, La Salle and Brian Black, an urban geography professor at York University's Concordia University, say that the private sector will have to shoulder its share of Old Port redevelopment costs. Added Black: "This site has tremendous commercial potential but it will require massive amounts of private money, as well as public, because we have seen the end of municipal, publicly financed projects."

over Centre from 1963-1979. And he used his influence as a powerful westerner in the Tradeshow government to spend \$25 million building new roads and sewers on the site on the south shore of Lake Ontario, as in the case of the site. Now the Crown-owned warehouses contain stores selling items ranging from books to bread, restaurants, two theatres and the Emily Carr College of Art and Design. And a public market where 40 merchants sell fresh fish, meat, fruit and vegetables each day attracts 300,000 visitors a week to the site. Said Burdett: "A comprehensive plan ensuring that the development be a 'people place' in mind. And ever clear guidelines are in place, private developers are almost invariably co-operative."



Chrysler workers on strike—seeking a share of the company's profits

## LABOR

# Chrysler under siege

Robert White realized his dream of separating the 113,000-member Canadian branch of the United Auto Workers international union on March 30. Less than six months later the 30-year-old president of the newly formed tier of Canada announced last week that 10,000 auto workers were going on strike against Chrysler Canada Ltd. At the same time, more than 75,000 UAW members struck Chrysler in the United States, shutting down North America's third-largest automaker. The strike continued at week's end, costing Chrysler an estimated \$19 million each day—\$7 million in Canada—and severely testing the resolve of the most non-hungry company by floundering chairman Lee Iacocca. But the strike also tested the will and strength of the newly independent Canadian union and its leader.

The break with the American parent union, which White announced last December and which the Canadian labor council of the UAW approved in March, followed what White called interference by the UAW in the United States in Canadian contract negotiations. And last week, after negotiations held in Toronto just five hours before the strike deadline, White declared, "The American unionists in having an effect [Chrysler Canada's chief negotiator William Fisher] is at a standpoint while somebody is holding

his finger on the button keeping it on red." That "somebody," said White, was Iacocca.

The first test of the independent Canadian UAW is set for the first independent union by White in 1979, when the U.S. federal loan guarantee board insisted that UAW unions be part of its rescue of then-bankrupt Chrysler. White rejected the settlement. In 1980 White again broke ranks with the U.S. union and led a five-week strike against Chrysler, winning a wage increase in Canada that provided the basis for the settlement in the United States. And last October, White re-

for compensation for contributions granted to Chrysler since 1979. Company workers in Canada, the majority employed in assembling full-line and minivans, pointed to a reported record profit of \$280 million in 1984. And in the United States, Chrysler workers were seeking a share of the company's profits of \$306 million in the three months that ended in June.

In Canada a major contract issue was quickly settled. Chrysler met the union's demand for wage parity with Ford and General Motors, proving assembly line workers an immediate 30-cent-an-hour increase to \$14.18. But talks broke down over many local issues and the union's demand for "business" concessions. The union rejected the company's compensation offer and maintained its demand for more money for both active and retired workers. But at week's end, critical issues on UAW picket lines on both sides of the border were job classifications and job security.

Chrysler contends the company's 500 individual job classifications reduce efficiency. But workers, particularly in the United States, say they want to retain the classifications to protect jobs and prevent "abuse by management." Union spokesmen say that they are concerned about Chrysler's policy of transferring some work to outside manufacturers. And Chrysler has announced plans to obtain many of its line of compact cars from Mitsubishi, its Japanese affiliate. UAW officials add that Iacocca has further shared them by establishing links with a Korean car manufacturer, Samsung, and by his announced plans to establish production unions overseas.

At week's end, negotiations continued in Toronto as the Canada union's Sunday membership meeting scheduled as a forum to discuss an anticipated new contract. In the United States talks resumed in Highland Park as members of the UAW's Chrysler

Canada held a strike strategy meeting in Huntsville, Ala. However, if an accord is reached in Canada without an agreement in the United States, work at the Canadian Chrysler plants in Detroit would last just three or four days before a shortage of U.S. parts would force layoffs. In the end, it seemed that the new Canadian union remained dependent on its giant American parent.

—BALGUNDEN in Toronto

## TRANSPORTATION

# The foundering seaway

Normally it would have been a routine procedure for the 31-member crew of the Liberian-registered freighter *Parla*. At 10:30 a.m. on Oct. 14 the vessel—loaded with western Canadian grain and bound for Alexandria, Egypt—was moving through Lock No. 7 of the 85-km St. Lawrence Canal, where eight locks lower ships a total of 335 feet as they pass around Niagara Falls from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. Suddenly, a concrete pipe in the side of the lock ruptured, shooting a 100-foot slab of the lock wall against the ship's hull. It brought the *Parla* to a grinding halt and, at the same time, disrupted the voyage of almost every other vessel in the St. Lawrence Seaway. At week's end, 35 ships were trapped in the canal, and dozens more that were supposed to make the passage before the seaway's closing in mid-December were stranded at various points along the 2,940-mile system. And seaway officials said that they did not expect the lock to be open for at least several weeks.

The *Parla*, which was dewatered little of the lock the same day, sustained little

damage. But the seaway itself may suffer a ship setback from the accident. The reason: About 27 million tons of cargo—half the annual traffic—goes through the seaway in the last two months of the season. And cargo traffic on Oct. 7 it was down 25 percent from last year, its lowest level in 30 years.

*The accident, which occurred just as traffic was picking up, has created a crisis of confidence in the waterway*

—had just begun to increase before the accident. Now, every ship is limited as much as \$30,000 a day and shippers have been forced to lay off almost 5,000 crew members. As well, the accident, which is the second in the past year on the seaway, has renewed doubts about the system's ability to handle the traffic. Jack Jerry Cook, general manager of

the Thunder Bay Harbor Commission, the world's largest grain port. "The crisis of confidence in the seaway system gives its entire future in jeopardy."

Yet storm clouds have long been evident. Operated jointly by Canada and the United States, the seaway provides ocean access to a vast inland region. When it was opened in 1959, President Dwight Eisenhower called it "a magnificent symbol to the entire world of the achievements possible by democratic nations peacefully working together." But despite several boom years during the late 1970s, the seaway now operates at only half capacity—and business is dropping drastically.

Indeed, the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, which manages the Canadian part of the system from Montreal, to Lake Erie, expects to post an operating deficit of between \$9 million and \$11 million for the fiscal year beginning March, 1985. Most of that loss is on a result of a dwindling volume of iron ore and grain cargoes, which are still the staples of Great Lakes shipping. And Robert Balcarac, director of administration services for the western region of the seaway, "Our problems are a reflection of market forces. Grain production is down, and because of the shutdown in iron ore production many vessels are returning empty to the Great Lakes." But critics of the Seaway Authority

Starting Oct. 27th

# EUROPE:

White: teaching the owl





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say that the problems are much more severe. The shipment of general cargo, or manufactured goods, now amounts for only seven per cent of the total traffic on the seaway, compared with the 20 per cent that planners originally predicted. One factor is the toll structure: it is about 2½ times higher for general cargo than for bulk, which has a lower value. Much of that lucrative trade has shifted to the Mississippi River or to container services, which transport cargo by truck and rail to the east coast. There, it is loaded aboard ships that are too large to fit into the seaway's 800-by-80-foot locks. Sold Cook: "Marketing efforts by the seaway are useless unless we correct the structural flaws."

Meanwhile, the accident in the Welland Canal has focused more attention on the main barge issue. Last May 21 a lift bridge broke down at Valerfield, Ont., trapping 160 vessels for three weeks as they waited to clear the canal before winter freeze-up. That stoppage prompted multimillion-dollar lawsuits by shippers against the Seaway Authority. But the Ontario accident is more serious. Last week Thomas Burke, director of the Cleveland-Cuyahoga County Port Authority, said, "The maintenance program is not what it should be." Burke added that the United States, which now has direct administrative control



Lock No. 7: the seaway grinds to a halt

over only two of the seaway's 20 locks, should take over the entire system. The authority—a Crown corporation—acknowledges that it must add to its revenues, which totalled \$53,413,000 in 1991-92, with a net deficit of \$25 million. Among the measures it is considering is raising the tolls, which have been frozen for the past few years in order to keep the seaway "cost competitive." But spokesmen say that despite "great pressure" from shipping companies, the seaway is not considering extending the season beyond December.

For now, the main concern of the Seaway Authority is reopening Lock No. 7. Last week it awarded contracts to two companies that will work to shore up the lock wall temporarily. Said Burke: "Then we will limp through until the close of navigation season, when more repairs can be done." But the authority would not even point to a date when the lock would reopen. Meanwhile, shipping companies in North America and around the world are expected to demand compensation for lost revenues. And even after the Welland emergency has passed, it will continue to impose calls for major changes in the waterway. Sold Cook: "It is almost the 21st century. It is time for the seaway to shake things up a bit."

—BRIAN WALLACE in Montreal

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## An orange-light district

No Canadian prostitutes are more notorious than those who ply their trade on the streets of Vancouver—and few are as politically experienced. It took a British Columbia Supreme Court injunction in July, 1986, to drive them off the curbs of the city's West End after a determined campaign by outraged local residents. And when the prostitutes moved eastward into the Mount Pleasant residential neighborhood, provincial Attorney General Brian Smith denied a local petition for a similar injunction because, he said, it would only relocate the problem. Unfazed, Mount Pleasant residents staged a "sleep in" at city hall, where they said they would camp until local politicians addressed their concerns. That finally inspired city council to give Vancouver's favorite political football—its prostitutes—another kick. And last week they landed squarely in Canada's only officially sanctioned red-light district.

City council backed Mayor Michael Bloomberg's proposal to establish the district—a five-block area near the False Creek river at Expo 86—because it is



Vancouver's new landmark bazaar

occupied mainly by warehouses and light industry. That meant there would be few local residents to complain. But council was forced to provide several inducements for the prostitutes, who had previously made no attempt to ease tensions by moving into the area on their own accord. The reason: the district's poor lighting, coupled with streets that were abandoned after dark, made the street trade uncomfortably dangerous. So last week the city ordered police to increase their patrols in the district and it installed \$30,000 worth of high-intensity sodium street lights.

When they are turned on every night, the new lights glow red. But as they gain power, they cool to orange—a color that symbolizes city politicians' halfhearted support for their new project. Said long-time alderman Harry Rankin: "It's long the loser of two evils. You think have to be pretty backward to choose this, this was anything but a Red-Aid solution." And although Burnaby city councillor and Member of Parliament David Robinson supported the decision, he added that "it is hopefully a short-term solution." Even Burnaby Mayor, spokesman for the Mount Pleasant Committee on Street Prostitution, expressed reservations about the new district, although he said that it has helped relieve pressure on his neighborhood. Said Alder: "I am pleased with it, but it is only a temporary measure."

The nation's most observers expect the district to close down soon as a tough new solicitation law now being prepared in Parliament. Justice Minister John Crosbie introduced Bill C-49 to address a 1979 Supreme Court ruling that soliciting was illegal only if it was "pressing and persistent." That made it almost impossible for police to control street prostitution. But Bill C-49 will make any communication for the sake of prostitution in a public place illegal, and Crosbie expects that it will become law before Christmas. Still, some politicians are concerned that the law, as an accessory, curtails free speech, while others have said that it deals with prostitution simply by sweeping it out of sight. Declared John Lowman, professor of criminology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C.: "The prostitutes always go where they have been asked to go. They have been the only ones who have acted decently. But what is going to happen to them when Bill C-49 gets passed?"

Ironically, one of the few houses located in Vancouver's new orange-light district is a group home for former teenage prostitutes. Social workers have complained that the relocation of the oldest trade is not helping the girls. If nothing else, their dilemma shows that prostitution is one social problem that yields no easy remedies.

—GILBERT FLETCHER in Vancouver

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# A nose dive for the mighty Blue Jays

Their dreams of baseball glory were gone with the wind, a chitl dinner before that blew steadily toward right field in Exhibition Stadium. And the youthful Toronto Blue Jays were as headstrong as their supporters across Canada were desperate. But last week the Blue Jays' so-called "Crew of '88"—a summer-long quest for a berth in what would have been the first truly international World Series—became the "Dive of '88," and their otherwise brilliant season was over. Inexplicably, the Blue Jays lost the final three games in a best-of-seven American League pennant series with the more experienced, but less talented Kansas City Royals. As a result, the 1988 renewal of the World Series, which began on the weekend, emerged as an all-Missouri affair—with the Royals hosting the National League champion St. Louis Cardinals.

The Cardinals, who were far from in a row from the Los Angeles Dodgers after losing an opening game in the National League playoffs, were 240-1 favorites to defeat the Jays, according to Las Vegas bookmakers. The series stretched the Cardinals' superior speed and more accomplished hitting against the Royals' stronger pitching. As well, it pitted the physical abilities of the Cardinals' wily Whitey Herzog, 64—his managed Kansas City from 1970 to 1979, winning three western division titles before moving to St. Louis in 1986—against the Royals' importable Mike Bielecki, 49. But above all, it promised to provide a showcase for the talents of St. Louis shortstop Ozzie (The Wizard of Oz) Smith, 30, and Kansas City third baseman George Brett, 32, each of whom was the most valuable-player award in his league's championship series. Indeed, it had blown all the redemptible Brett—one of the best hitters in baseball history—who led the Royals in

their surprising comeback against the Blue Jays. Said Brett, gracious after Kansas City's 6-2 victory stunted Toronto in the final game. "They didn't choke. We just played better."

The Royals also took advantage of the wind which gusts in from Lake Ontario and turned two routine fly balls into a home run and a triple,

felicitating Jesse Barfield, who watched in frustration as the wind changed a soft fly by Kansas City catcher Jim Sundberg, 34, from a certain catch into a three-run triple. "It was a bad experience for us."

Among the most distraught of the Blue Jays was star pitcher Dave Stieb, who threw the fateful pitch to Sund-

berg by the middle innings, and in the sixth he landed the bats by walking two Royals and hitting another. Cox debated briefly whether to relieve Stieb but decided to let him pitch to the light-hitting Sundberg. One pitch later the Blue Jays' season was all but over—said Stieb was walking, head bowed toward the dugout. After the game he avoided reporters, remaining in the players' lounge, crushed by disappointment.

The Royals' victory was only the first instance in baseball history of a team rallying from a 3-1 deficit to take a seven-game series. Indeed, after Toronto scored three sixth-inning runs to win the fourth game on Oct. 18, a Blue Jays advance to the World Series seemed inevitable. But a strong pitching performance by left-hander Danny Jackson, 25, gave the Royals a 2-0 win in the fifth game and the series moved back to Toronto.

To pitch game six Cox called on veteran right-hander Doyle Alexander, 35, but he lasted only 5½ innings against Mark Gubicza, 25, a lightly regarded Royals right-hander whom the Blue Jays had hit hard earlier in the year. While Gubicza preened offensively, Alexander gave up three runs, including another home run by Brett, and left the game furious with the umpires, who continued to provide controversy with their calls. Indeed, by game six the portly Blue Jay fans were sarcastically cheering whenever the umpires made the correct decision or when the Blue Jays played their scoring chances, and the Royals emerged with a 3-0 victory. Suddenly, the series was tied at three, and thousands of once-confident Toronto fans began to wonder whether their team's stumble would develop into a pitfall.

While the Blue Jays seemed to be tiring, if not frayed, before the seventh game, a growing storm was re-sounding enough to appear briefly on NBC's Toronto 630 fan zone the outcast in "base" fans—and the game. Barely three hours later Brett and his teammates were pouring champagne

over one another and looking ahead to the Cardinals and the World Series showdown in the "Show me" state. Said Herzog, who had lost 21 consecutive postseason games as a manager before Brett's hitting overcame the Blue Jays in game three. "Our pitching ain't there down pretty consistently." Added Royals' pitcher coach Gary Blaylock: "Good pitching says good hitting, and our guys proved it." While the Royals were celebrating in the visitors' clubhouse, the dejected Blue Jays were seeking consolation in the knowledge that they were a talented team with a promising future. Said third

base, Toronto was 182 games while losing only 90 in 1983. And the team drew more than 24 million fans to an inadequate stadium and developed millions of followers across Canada as it continued to win. Canadians from coast to coast watched the Blue Jays on the TV and the television networks and listened to the radio. In Toronto, the possibility grew that a Canadian-based team would reach the World Series, even Canadians unfamiliar with baseball began talking about the Blue Jays.

While politicians, including Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, declared themselves in support of the Blue Jays, Toronto haters and restaurateurs began anticipating an October bonanza from visitors drawn by the excitement of a baseball championship. Pat's bars in midtown Toronto built temporary grandstands, installed outdoor television screens, printed special tickets and offered patrons hot dogs and peanuts. Saurer and T-shirt manufacturers began making World Series-related products. And Labatt's—one of the club's principal sponsors—released a series of TV commercials showing the Blue Jay fans who had "helped make the dream come true." But the dream fell one victory short—just as it had for the 1981 Montreal Expos, who lost at home to the Dodgers in the sixth inning of the deciding game in the National League championship series.

Although the Expos failed to improve the following year, the Blue Jays may well. For one reason, Pat Gillick, the club's executive vice-president, is already planning to seek another left-handed starting pitcher, a left-hander designated hitter and a spare outfielder to business what is already one of the strongest teams in baseball. For another, the 1988 Blue Jays will have the benefit of the team's 1986 experience—including the hard lessons learned in its last-minute collapse against Kansas City. Indeed, the Royals had the benefit of five previous appearances in postseason play when they overtook the Blue Jays.

In seven League championship best-of-seven Royals also was a hit for Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft, who had offered to stage O Canada in a downtown Kansas City plaza if the Blue Jays won. The loss was Ontario Premier David Peterson, who said he would not be in the all-Missouri World Series. Peterson said at an uptight press on the steps of the Queen's Park legislature building in Toronto, where he played and sang a number from the musical *Gladiator*. The refrain's first line: "Everybody's up to date in Kansas City."

—ROBERT WILLER, in Toronto



Brett in triumph: the Jays' heady string of successes made the final defeat even more shocking



Stieb in mourning: hard lessons for all in the collapse

driving in a total of four Kansas City runs. For their part, the Blue Jay hitters were unable to respond against pitchers Bret Saberhagen, 21, and Charlie Leibrandt, 38. Throughout the series Blue Jay batters outlasted Kansas City by a substantial 50-51 margin. But after they were unable to drive runners home, stonewalling a total of 49 in the seven games. Said disappointed Blue Jay manager Bobby Cox, 44, whose team had led the American League east division from May until the regular season ended on Oct. 6. "I thought we would win it, I'm just sorry we lost on a pop-up." Added right

berg, Stieb, a 29-year-old right-hander who played a lifetime contract worth a reported \$25 million, started the final game with a chance to be the hero of the series. He was overpromoted in winning the first game by a 3-1 score. Then, pitching with only three days' rest, he was ineffective—if not catastrophically so—when the Blue Jays won the fourth game 3-1. Finally, when the series reached game seven, Cox turned to Stieb a third time—again with only three days' rest. But Stieb, a former and often temperamental competitor, could not sustain his normal level of excellence. He grew visibly

# A bull in the literary china shop

IRVING LAYTON: A PORTRAIT

By Elizabeth Cameron  
(Shedden, 510 pages, \$22.95)  
WAITING FOR THE MESSIAH:  
A MEMOIR  
By Irving Layton  
(McClelland and Stewart,  
564 pages, \$22.95)

Poet Irving Layton, raging bull of Canadian letters, has devoted his career to battering the foundations of social and literary orthodoxy. And his life story, as told in two new books, has now become a lively controversy in its own right. True to form, Layton was the first to launch his authorized biography, *Irving Layton: A Portrait*, by subjecting its author to a barrage of public invective in an open letter to Elizabeth Cameron, he wrote, "There is no measure to the abuse and self-dignity I find in having talked to you about poetry or about anything else." Adding injury to insult, Layton is competing for Cameron's readers with the publication of his own memoir, *Waiting for the Messiah*. Taking two radically different perspectives, both books serve to reinforce Layton's cherished self-image as Canada's renegade-in-residence.

Nine 75, Layton is in the twilight of a career that made him one of the first Canadian writers to use instrumental analysis with modern poetry. But over the past decade the renegade has become the buffoon, alienating critics with sociological verse and parading his marital disputes through the media and the courts. Not immune to what he has called "the irresistible lure of growing old," he now seems obsessed with blemishing his ego for posterity.

Despite Layton's criticism of Cameron's work, the poet himself first approached the author, who teaches Canadian literature at the University of Toronto, to write the biography. She has produced a detailed portrait, with an approach that ranges from dry scholarship to scandalous gossip. Much of her material evokes Layton's own nostalgic memoir, which is considerably less audacious in scope, ending abruptly before his rise to prominence in the 1930s. The books make an odd pair: Layton warns himself by the fire of his own flamboyant delusions, Cameron examines him from a cold, microscopic distance. The account bristles with passion and insight, less with gossip. But both books are fuelled by the Layton myth. "A poet's life is a great symbol," Layton wrote in a letter quoted by Cam-

eron, "a stroke of jagged lightning illuminating the darkness briefly and fiercely."

From early childhood Layton felt he was special. Born in Romania as Israel Lazarovitch, he claims to have emerged from the womb already enlightened. In 1953, when he was a year old, his family moved to Montreal, where his mother opened a small grocery store and his

father, a proletarian shaking Canadian culture from its Victorian sleep after working at a string of odd jobs, he began a teaching career that would subsidize his poetry for 40 years. But it took time for him to make his dent in the literary establishment. In 1961 the University of Toronto's eminent critic, Northrop Frye, dismissed Layton as "a noisy harpist." Eight years later, with the publication of *A Red Carpet for the Sun*—winner of the Governor General's Award—Frye hailed Layton as "the best English-language poet in Canada." Ascendancy, Cameron crafts precise images to describe his success. "Though he was short-legged physically," she writes, "he took giant steps into the national literary arena, like a rodder on skis, directly into the limelight."

As Layton was anxious for his poetry, he attracted notoriety for his checkered love life. The cosmopolitan literary detective, Cameron documents his four marriages and various romances in painstaking detail, but she often explains his poetry to perform a cavalier sort of psychoanalysis. Although the strength of his biography lies in his candidness towards—drawn from letters of correspondence and firsthand interviews with his close friends, notably fellow poet Leonard Cohen—he can be too forthright. It is questionable whether any reader needs a foot-noted reference to the fact that American poet William Carlos Williams "made a pass at Anna [Layton's third wife] when Layton was out of the room."

With her *Portrait*, Cameron seems bent on exposing the frailties behind Layton's bravado, but she fathers him with the sheer intensity of her gaze. In his *Messiah*, Layton's experience a host: his own life pales in comparison, and his praise is less slanted with the boast of his literary importance. Of the critics that Layton has published, Cameron reports that approximately 75 are "world class" and 70 are "extremely good"—"a truly remarkable achievement," she concludes. What is perhaps more remarkable is that a handful of poets have generated such an embarrassment of riches.

—DELAN D. JOHNSON



Layton: the country's renegade-in-residence



## "The battery on my rented car conked out in a Florida parking lot. My CAA membership saved my bacon."

Jack Mitchell, Toronto freelance writer



"I joined CAA Toronto in case I had an emergency in the area. Then, on vacation in Florida, I left my lights on in a rented car. The battery went dead and I was stuck. Suddenly I remembered that CAA members can phone AAA for help. The AAA people had me started in 10 minutes. No cost!"

"I thanked my lucky stars for my CAA membership when a dead battery stranded me in that Florida parking lot," says Jack Mitchell of Toronto. He has been a CAA member for six years.

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## FOR THE RECORD

# Jazz with a fiery heart

**HUMBLE PEOPLE**  
Flora Purim and Auro  
(Columbia/ARJ)

In the late 1970s Brazilian singer Flora Purim and her husband, percussionist Auro Teixeira, were key members of Chick Corea's adventurous Sunnyside group, Return to Forever. Although they have enjoyed a durable popularity since then, the duo has also suffered from a lack of direction. Their new album, *Humble People*, marks a confident return to their roots, a sophisticated blend of Brazilian pop, jazz and folk music. Purim sings mostly in Portuguese, and Auro weaves playful rhythms around her, particularly on the samba *Nuova Iona* (Kin) and the joyous dance tune *Jorgal*. And saxophonists Joe Farrell and David Sanborn give the band an expansive improvisational power with their fierce solos. The album even features a sensuous blues number, *20 Years Blue*, coaxed equally by Purim's vocals and David Zahary's guitar. Indeed, the only misstep is a limp rock song, *Moss in My Up*. With that exception, *Humble People* succeeds well and should fuel the growing interest in fiery Brazilian-influenced jazz.

**CITY OF DREAMS**  
Bill King Quartet  
(Night Passage Music)

At the outset, Toronto pianist Bill King's new album resembles a classy jazz club performance, combining high energy with a keen respect for tradition. *City of Dreams* opens with a hard-driving instrumental, *Eyes of Morning*, which showcases a highly cohesive quartet. Pat Labadie's sears through several solos with his rich, strassy saxophone. Then, vocalist Liberty Silver delivers a tart version of Stanley Turrentine's *Sugar*. But the album starts to stagger with Silver's overblown rendition of *God Bless the Child*—and never recovers. King's *Amorino* is too slight a composition to sustain its overly slick production. And in a rush to show off his own arrangements on most of the album, King leaves little room for his players to shine. Rather than highlighting the polished jazz of accomplished musicians, *City of Dreams* assumes the frantic pace of a television variety show.

—BART TESTS

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## The fight to win status for midwives

**G**ale Gray, a nonpractising registered nurse who worked as hospital maternity ward for one year before she left the profession in 1982, has helped 120 women give birth since then—and all of them had successful deliveries. But every time the 30-year-old Vancouver woman visits the home of a would-be laborer, she risks a charge of practising medicine without a license. The reason: Gray is one of an estimated 200 active midwives in Canada—the only Western industrialized country that does not recognize midwifery as a legally sanctioned profession. But early next year Gray and nine other Vancouver midwives plan to press their campaign for legal status by opening an office where they will receive clients, monitor their health and conduct prenatal classes.

At the same time, like midwives in Ontario and Quebec—two other provinces where midwives have well-organized support groups—they will continue helping women deliver their babies at home. Said Gray: "We are contravening the law, but as long as we are not negligent we will be tolerated. The public wants us." Indeed, across Canada midwives and their supporters want provincial governments to legalize midwifery, establish courses, set educational requirements and regulate the practice. Their ultimate goal is independence, self-regulating professions that is not under the control of doctors or nurses.

Gray and other midwives helped deliver fewer than one per cent of the approximately 375,000 babies born in Canada last year. And they acknowledge that such hospital shortcomings as Caesarean sections and the use of forceps can help bring a difficult labor to a successful conclusion. Still, most of them say that the support, reassurance and skills of a midwife can be used to deliver healthy babies without the medical functions routinely employed in hospital deliveries.

As well, spokesmen for the Midwifery Task Force of British Columbia, a 200-member lobby group, say that strengthening midwifery would result in significant benefits over cost savings because a midwife charges between \$600 and \$750 for a delivery while a hospital delivery costs about \$2,500. For their part, spokesmen for the Canadian Medical Association, representing 60,000 physicians across the country, do not object to its members participating in hospital births. But officials of the association condemn the practice of women giving birth at home

where most major-city-assisted deliveries occur. Said an association statement: "Home births are retrogressive and irresponsible for either physicians or midwives to practice. A home birth poses an unnecessary risk for both the mother and baby."

Indeed, two Vancouver midwives are scheduled to appear in provincial court this week on charges of criminal neglig-

ence after a jury concluded that the baby might have survived if he had been taken to hospital more quickly. But the child's mother said that she had decided to give birth at home to avoid such onerous hospital practices as the use of painkillers and epidurals (surgical incisions of the vagina during labor). Meanwhile, Quebec Social Affairs Minister Guy Chevrette said that he



Gray (left) with client Gladys Pajon and baby Nicot. The public wants us.

would consider legalizing midwifery as a profession if the province's midwives, doctors and nurses agree on such controversial issues as jurisdiction. And in response to a B.C. government request, provincial lobby chairman Howard has begun to plan a study on the costs and benefits of integrating midwives into the health care system. Those are encouraging signs for women like Vancouver's Gray. But she waits for a change in her specialty's legal status, she continues to screen her clients carefully—and if she detects signs of a potentially difficult birth she recommends that the pregnant woman seek a doctor's help. Said Gray: "I am not interested in taking unnecessary risks."

But she and other midwives believe that breaking laws that they consider outdated is an acceptable risk.

Similar concerns were raised in Toronto in July at a three-week inquest into the Oct. 13, 1984, death of a baby boy. The infant was taken to the Hospital for Sick Children soon after two midwives assisting at the home delivery noticed that the baby was not breathing. He died of asphyxiation two days later, and the two men and two women on the

would consider legalizing midwifery as a profession if the province's midwives, doctors and nurses agree on such controversial issues as jurisdiction. And in response to a B.C. government request, provincial lobby chairman Howard has begun to plan a study on the costs and benefits of integrating midwives into the health care system. Those are encouraging signs for women like Vancouver's Gray. But she waits for a change in her specialty's legal status, she continues to screen her clients carefully—and if she detects signs of a potentially difficult birth she recommends that the pregnant woman seek a doctor's help. Said Gray: "I am not interested in taking unnecessary risks."

—GRANT FRIEDBERG in Vancouver

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# Tyrant of the waterfront

Canada's Sweetheart:  
The Saga of Hal C. Banks  
FIVE, Oct. 27

Two men walk into a sporting goods store and scoop up two dozen baseball bats. When the perplexed clerk asks if they need some balls, one of them gives him a grin and says, "Balls, are you kidding? What have you got in bicycle chains?" That scene, depicting two thugs outfitting a union "organising" drive, typifies the deft, sardonic touch with which award-winning film-maker Donald Brittain has dramatized the sinister world of the late Hal C. Banks, former Canadian leader of the Southern International Union (SIU). Co-produced by the National Film Board and the CBC, Canada's *Sweetheart, The Saga of Hal C. Banks* illuminates a dark episode of Canadian labor history with authenticity and flair.

Combining dramatic re-enactments with documentary interviews, the film traces Banks's 15-year career as the most tyrant of Canada's waterfront. At the request of Prime Minister Louis St.



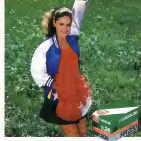
Chapman's efficient brutality, extortion

Laurent's government, the SIU imported Banks to Canada from San Francisco in 1938 to break up the Communist-led Canadian Seamen's Union. At the time, a CIO strike had paralyzed much of the country's shipping industry. Using low-bidder tactics, Banks broke picket lines and closed shops with his own fresh recruits. Banks made "sweetheart deals" with Canadian shipowners, guaranteeing them labor peace in exchange for a membership monopoly. And he kept his own men in line with extortion and violence. Dick Green, a rival union official interviewed by Brittain, recalls that the best way to take an SIU beating was "on your back—if they're going to kick you in the ribs, it's sort of hollow and bouncy, but if they get a real solid kick into your kidneys, it will dialogue the damn things."

More drama than documentary, Canada's *Sweetheart* is peppered with scenes of brutality that are frightening in their brevity, efficient brutality. At the heart of the film is Murray Chapman's chilling portrayal of Banks. Rather than treating him as a one-dimensional villain, Chapman invests the role with a charm that pervasively obscures the sense of evil about the man. As well, R.H. Thomson delivers beautifully understated performance as the gangster's duplicitous bossman, heading an impressive supporting cast that includes Gary Burdock and Sam McMurn. And visible throughout the production is the controlling intelligence of Brittain, who served as director, narrator, co-writer and coproducer. Shot mostly in black and white, his film captures the look of 1940s Canada with an evocative precision.

Brittain switches to color for the interviews and final re-enactment of the compromise of inquiry by British Columbia Appeal Court Judge T.G. Norris (late SIU). After the Norris compromise exposed Banks as a lowbinder in 1953, a Quebec court convicted him of conspiring to cause bodily harm. He jumped bail and fled to the United States, where American and Canadian politicians intervened to prevent his extradition to Canada to face a perjury charge. Finally, Brittain delivers his story into the present. The SIU, he reveals, still lives under the central's Banks profile. Roman Grelowicz, a disident member was recently "taken to a party" outside a union hall. Banks himself retired to San Francisco, where he operated a lucrative hedge service until his death last month at the age of 59. Brittain's attempt to shut the funeral met with frustration, so did earlier attempts to interview Banks. The wily American remained elusive to the end, but Brittain has captured his spirit on film.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON



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## HERITAGE

# Robbing ancient graves

Archaeologists erupted over the 1982 discovery of a 17th-century Inuit village in a small woods near the village of Frobisher, just 90 km west of Toronto. But they had not even begun excavations when professional looters arrived on the previously undisturbed site, dug up 70 per cent of the village and removed more than 700 artifacts, including 69 iron tools. They also stole almost 9,000 artifacts from a previously undiscovered Indian cemetery 25 km away and in the process exhumed 65 skeletons. Police eventually caught the three men who had looted the sites, and, on May 1, Hamilton-West North Justice of the Peace Robert Robson fined two of them \$7,000 each for the crime. Many Canadian archaeologists said that these sentences were valuable precedents. But they also highlighted the presence of an active U.S. market where dealers openly—and legally—offer high prices for stolen Canadian artifacts.

American trade in Canadian artifacts is a major problem, according to David Walden of the department of communications in Ottawa. He said that dealers will pay as much as \$10,000 U.S. for such items as carved stone bowls, ceremonial masks and pipes—and that they can resell them at up to 100 per cent more. But currently Ottawa can do little to curb the abuse. The reason: It is perfectly legal to sell artifacts in the United States which have been successfully smuggled out of Canada. David Walden: "A lot of dealers know we have no legal means to get material back, and they encourage criminal elements here in Canada to loot and plunder archaeological sites."

## The prospect of high profits in the United States is encouraging the looting of Indian artifacts in Canada

In an effort to discourage the trade, Ottawa sent a delegation to Washington

earlier this month to meet with U.S. Information Agency director Charles Wick. Wick said that he was "delighted" to receive the Canadian proposal for a new bilateral agreement that would make it illegal to import Canadian artifacts into the United States without prior approval from Ottawa. The new agreement falls under the Cultural Property Implementation Act passed by Congress in 1983, and it will likely become law this summer.

Although the proposed accord could eliminate open infiltration of Canadian artifacts in U.S. gun and antique magazines, there is no guarantee that it will eliminate the trade. Most sites are extremely remote and almost impossible to guard. And often the thieves bring considerable expertise to their jobs, sometimes even having sites before archaeologists know they exist. Indeed, records seized from the two leaders of the Frobisher looting—both of whom were amateur archaeologists—led to the discovery of several previously unknown sites.

Still, few archaeologists discount the importance of the accord. At the very least, it will help to educate collectors who previously acquired Canadian artifacts legally and in the process encouraged the destruction of ancient graves.

—WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

Starting Oct. 27th

# THE ORIENT:

## New uses for ultralights

Ultralights—low-powered aircraft whose bodies are minimally nothing more than an aluminum tube frame with a Dacron sailcloth cover—provide enthusiasts with low-cost, no-frills hobby flying. But a five-year deal signed last May between a leading Chinese aerospace firm, Beijing Chang Feng Industry Corp., and Kinco's VT Aircraft International may signal a new application for the recreational aircraft. Next spring a factory in Peking will begin producing as many as 500 Canadian-designed W-12 Horizon ultralights a year for use in agricultural spraying. With an initial capital investment of \$500,000, 52.5 per cent from the Chinese, the two-seater will sell for no little as \$7,000—a fraction of the \$150,000 to \$200,000 price of conventional crop dusters—usually single-engine monoplane. Said Vladimir Tolmachev, 45, VT president and the plane's designer: "I just set out to design a good, strong machine that might be useful."

Ultralight airplanes, originally powered by engines no bigger than those found on go-karts, first became popular



Tolmachev, designing a useful machine

in Canada as recreational aircraft five years ago. But in 1983 interest in adapting ultralights to other uses began to grow when such U.S. law enforcement agencies as the Denver Police Department in suburban Los Angeles began using ultralights instead of helicopters for air patrol. The reason: lower capital, maintenance and operating costs.

Tolmachev claims that the W-12 will be the first mass-produced, nonrecreational ultralight, and says that he anticipates brisk sales because the aircraft can be easily assembled and serviced. Although the plane carries much less agricultural chemicals than a conventional crop duster—220 lb. of spray compared to as much as 1,000 lb.—its ability to land on any reasonably level area as short as 300 feet means that it can be refueled repeatedly with chemicals transported directly to the site by truck.

At 300 lb., the W-12 conforms to Transport Canada's official limit on ultralight craft of 450 lb. Canadian farmers, who can qualify for an ultralight license after a training program that includes at least five hours of flight time, have already expressed interest, and Tolmachev says that he has already received 300 orders. Indeed, the W-12 may be available in Canada in time for next year's growing season.

—BRIAN JEFFERY STREET in Toronto

## BOOKS

## A history of wealth

COMPANY OF ADVENTURERS

by Peter C. Newman  
(Penguin Books, 132 pages, \$10)

It is perfectly fitting that Peter C. Newman, the chief chronicler of Canada's ruling class, has written a history of the Hudson's Bay Co. Author of *The Canadian Establishment*, Newman is clearly fascinated by wealth and influence, and the Hudson's Bay Co. has enjoyed an abundance of both for more than 300 years. As Newman points out in the superbly entertaining first volume of *Company of Adventurers*, the Hudson's Bay Co. once held absolute control over 40 per cent of what is now Canada. Its profitable fur trade helped lay the foundations of the future nation and spun up the Canadian northland. And although the company has experienced serious financial losses in recent years, it still controls a department store chain, an oil company and considerable real estate, with annual gross revenues of about \$1 billion.

There was great fanfare when Newman began writing the story three years



Newman: feisty connoisseur, kinesthesis

ago. Newspaper photographs showed him shaking hands with company officials as they granted him access to extensive archives. Despite that relationship, the first volume of *Company of Adventurers*, which covers the period up to 1806, never flinches at revealing the company's shortcomings. Newman credits the Hudson's Bay Co. as a steady organization which failed to appreciate that a few of its young employees were making lasting contributions to history. He writes that the company felt it was better to "be low and not attract interest, only collect it."

Newman manages to circumvent the emotional dullness of much of the company's financial dealings by concentrating on the illustrious figures who amassed its wealth. According to the author, the company was in large part the creation of an old but crafty partnership between Britain's highly influential Prince Rupert, cousin of King Charles II, and the charismatic French-Canadian explorer Pierre-Esprit de la Rivière. Typically, Newman makes those characters come alive—especially the voracious investor-preneur, who spent much of his time in a smoky laboratory. When the two colonists visited London in 1668 they spoke of the fur and mineral riches of Hudson Bay. Prince Rupert promptly organized a syndicate of Lon-

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dan businessmen—eventually called the Company of Adventurers—to sponsor trading voyages to Canada. In 1670 the king granted control of the entire Hudson Bay watershed to the syndicate; in 12 years the group was making a 200-per-cent return on its investments.

Newman relates the saga of the company's rapid expansion with great energy and flair. He focuses on such adventurous figures as John Rae, who had sufficient humanity to let the Eskimos teach him how to survive in the Arctic by building igloos and wearing animal skins. But Newman also writes perceptively about the proletariat of the fur trade, the Indians. They saw themselves as the privileged party in bartering, offering such pelts as fox, which some used in wage-brokered hotels. The company was a large employer of natives as well as fur traders and was even famous for its humane treatment of starving bands. Still, when competition from the Montreal-based North West Company became stiff, it was not above paying the tribes with cheap beads.

The disgruntled employees who conducted the bar trade were rank among the greatest stalkers in Canadian history. With great skill Newman catches the halibut craftsmen that they endure in winter ice coated the inside walls of their bunkhouses, the brief accumulations produced dense clouds of mosquitoes and blinches. Wisely, the company re-located many natives of the bleak Orkney Islands off northern Scotland to man its posts. Many men broke the company rules by living common-law with Indian women until they returned home.

While a woman is largely sympathetic to the ordinary traders, he is much sterner in dealing with their London dealers. Respected in comfortable board rooms, they often rewarded legal, longtime employees with callous disregard. Newman relates that one of the best traders was silently denied permission to send his port-Indians daughter to school in England at his own expense. He criticizes the company more severely for its slowness to explore its vast holdings. It seemed to him that the loss of such an asset was a crime. He also criticizes the company's failure to invest its \$250 million across the treeless trades, as mere inactivity.

Still, the Hudson's Bay Co. changed its sedentary ways when rival traders intruded on its territory, forcing it to cross several inland paths. Newman breaks off his tale just as that exciting new era of expansion is about to open. If his opening volume, due in 1987, is as stimulating as the first, no one need ever complain again that Canada has a dull past. *Company of Adventurers* is popular history at its most compelling.

—JOHN BOWEN

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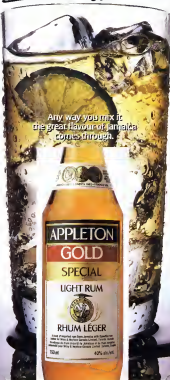
Abstract

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## MEDICINE

# A balm for stage fright

For many entertainers, stage fright is an enemy that only willpower and experience can conquer. But those who are severely afflicted often rely on alcohol or tranquillizers to suppress stage fright's most severe symptoms, which include extreme nervousness, shortness of breath, a pounding heart and uncontrollably trembling hands. Now, many performers have turned to an alternative. Called propexanol, it is a drug that doctors have prescribed since the 1950s for high blood pressure, heart conditions and migraine headaches. But its success in combating stage fright has made it extremely popular among musicians. Said one member of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, who asked not to be identified: "If you have a solo performance to play it can be very helpful."

Marketed as Inderal by Ayerst Laboratories of Montreal, propexanol works by preventing adrenaline, which the body produces naturally in frightening situations, from affecting the heart. Musicians say it is popular because it is unaddicting and, unlike other alcohol or tranquillizers, it does not impair judgment or co-ordination. But many are concerned that it could lead to psychological dependence. Doctor and Toronto performer, who said that he uses it only in emergencies: "It is a powerful medicine. Students are beginning to use it, and that is unfortunate."

Still, propexanol has proved so popular among musicians that one is spending to other professionals who work under heavy stress. Some U.S. doctors have acknowledged using it during public speaking engagements. Said Michael Sela, a cardiologist at Toronto General Hospital who prescribes it infrequently for two surgeons with high blood pressure: "These surgeons have told me they feel more confident. It is the operating room during difficult operations, but every drug has a price."

For those with asthma that price can include even more severe attacks. And long-term use by healthy people can lead to elevations in blood cholesterol, vivid nightmares and even impotence. But most performers who had been successfully incapacitated by stage fright remain unmoved by the drawbacks. For them, a dose of propexanol can be a professional lifeline.

—PAUL BERTON in Toronto

## FILMS

# A patriot without a sense of self

COLONEL REDL

Directed by Jerzy Szust

The hilariously intelligent Colonel Redl opens in the stirring stages of a military march played against the image of a man's impotence, masculine face. He is Col. Alfred Redl (Klaus Maria Brandauer), a soldier who committed suicide in 1913 and whose own fall prefigured that of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Director Jerzy Szust and screenwriter Peter Dobai, the same team responsible for the Oscar-winning *Myshkins*, here based their story loosely on Redl's life, the history of the time and John Osborne's play, *A Patriot for Me*. In doing so they have produced a superb and compelling panorama of the advent of the First World War. The film has an epic, symphonic sweep, yet it also provides an intimate portrait of a man whose patriotism represses his true personality and leads to his downfall.

Born to a large and poor family, Redl is afflicted at an early age with a blind, youthful love for the Kingpin Franz Josef, monarch of Austria and Hungary. Alfred's father manages to send him to military school, where discipline transforms that love into an obsession. There, he is befriended by another cadet, Kristof Kubaryk (Jan Striban), who comes from an obscure life. Through his association with the straitlaced, vigilant Kubaryk, Redl grows ashamed of



Landgrabe, Brandauer and (below) Brandauer in uniform: homosexual repression

his indecency and that the empire is disintegrating, he begins to live in pain and dread. Redl has suppressed so much of himself that he has nothing left to fall back on when the world he adores and lives for begins to fall apart. He becomes lost—a man without any sense of self.

Colonel Redl is a complex, demanding film which requires great concentration, but the theme is powerful and resonant. And Brandauer's performance is quietly electric: he is able to suggest all that turmoil in his character by the slightest shift of expression or muscular change in the register of his voice. "Pussy, pussy," he laments so he looks at photographs of himself. Coming upon his own penis, he adds "Kubaryk" to the complimentary list of written adjectives. Kubaryk's sister, Katinka (Gudrun Landgrebe), who becomes Redl's confidante, arranges a marriage of convenience for him when the army becomes suspicious of his sexuality. And his life grows into a chain of monstrous proportions.

Redl thinks he has been given a re-

proach when Archduke Ferdinand (Armin Mueller-Stahl), whose future assassination will ignite the first global war, asks him to conduct inquiries that will lead to the purging of all undesirable in the army. But Redl's spying activities catch him in the same web he weaves. Through a series of betrayals the patriotic Redl is framed as a charge of treason and becomes the archduke's scapegoat. The story of Colonel Redl is discovering deeper patriotism in a perfect piece of political necessity. If one man is expendable, then, by extension, so are millions.

The links between Redl's state and the first grooves of the war machine are visible in the film, but it is a tribute to his intelligence and integrity that the points are not pressed and belabored. The drama of Redl, forced either to shoot himself or be executed following his court martial, is the compelling thread that binds the film together. As Redl pines his room with the gun in his hand, hyperventilating, tears cascading down his cheeks, he is about to commit his own murder. It is an astonishingly brilliant piece of acting as Brandauer's part. The resident poets ahead to what is nothing less than the mass contribution of the war itself.

—LAWRENCE OTTOLE

## A gruelling race to brotherly love



Paul Cheng, Costner's inseparable disease and a shared passion for cycling

**AMERICAN FLYERS**  
Directed by John Badham

**A**merican Flyers, which tells the story of two estranged brothers reuniting because of one's inescapable disease, trades compassionately close to the world of soap operas. But screenwriter Steve Teseloff's handling of the subject transcends the melodrama or the romance. Except for their shared love of bicycling, the brothers are almost opposites. Maroon (Kevin Costner), a successful doctor, is serious and inhibited, while the younger David (David Grant), a college dropout, is happy-go-lucky and childlike. After their father dies of an aneurysm, David begins to have dream spells. Maroon, who fears his brother is suffering from the same disease, is determined to see his brother win a cycling race before he dies.

Beneath, American Flyers manages to connect the emotional inherent in both bicycle racing and brotherly love. Time becomes imperative to their relationship: the brothers must also race toward an understanding of each other. Their, who covered similar terrain in his 1979 Oscar-winning script, *Breaking Away*, has found cycling to be a potent metaphorical device. For Maroon, a former Olympic contender, racing represents what has eluded him in life. For David, the bicycle is a perfect vehicle for

his carefree nature. The most haunting image in *American Flyers* is an old photograph of Maroon on a bicycle towing David behind in a little red wagon. The paternalistic Maroon is still trying to tow his brother along, but David wants his sudden arrest and asks, "What are you trying to be, a one-minute brother?" The contrast increases when the two brothers travel back to their home town, St. Louis, for a bicycling holiday. Ironically, at the end of that lesson is a refusal to recognize their shared history and a glimpse is revealing their feelings.

American Flyers is extremely affecting and likable. It just happens it deals with characters who, underneath rather ordinary reasons, exhibit deeper qualities. Both Maroon and David possess inarticulate, complicated emotions. After being tested at a medical centre, David over hears a conversation and assumes he is dying. Throughout the rest of the film the fear of his own approaching death subtly shades his character—and Grant's performance. When Maroon convinces David to race in the Clara International Bicycle Classic, John Badham (Harlowe, *Star Trek*) uses his skill as an action director to film the grueling run over mountains, Colorado terrain and give the movie a marvellous kinetic quality. But Badham also knows how to slow down for the film's

more sensitive moments, and it is a tribute to both him and Touch that such scenes never become cloying.

Not everything about *American Flyers* is satisfying, particularly some of the extended racing segments. The movie could have traded some of those scenes for more details about the women in the story. The character of Sarah (Dae Dae Chang), Maroon's strong-willed, live-in girlfriend and the former wife of his racing rival, is annoyingly incomplete. The scenes featuring the brothers' alienated mother (Judith Baskin) are much too brief. And the role of Becky (Alexandra Paul), the hitchhiker whom David becomes infatuated with, is similarly treated. But blessedly free of a single teenager or obvious special effect, the movie is refreshing, like a breath of high altitude air.

*American Flyers* is a modern rarity—a writer's movie. It expresses our race's powerful personal vision. At times Touch won convey character through the simplest of exchanges. His handwork shines best when dealing with the two brothers. Toward the end of the film, after a surprising twist, Maroon and David are finally able to express their love for each other. Without drowning in tears, *American Flyers* touches some tender spots in its gentle depiction of two of the most intimate strangers.

—LAWRENCE OTTILE

### MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

#### Fiction

- 1 *Loopy*, Colleen (1)
- 2 *Shameless*, King (2)
- 3 *The Fourth Deadly Sin*, Sanders (2)
- 4 *The Handmaid's Tale*, Atwood (4)
- 5 *Trans. Shocker* (3)
- 6 *It Takes Two to Tango*, Shalton (4)
- 7 *The Older House Rules*, Irving (1)
- 8 *The Red Fox*, Ayde (1)
- 9 *Confessions*, Maguire (3)
- 10 *A Wagon*, Pender (3)

#### Nonfiction

- 1 *Isadora*, Bennett with Nunn (1)
- 2 *Shadows and Light*, Pender (3)
- 3 *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (1)
- 4 *Young, Bright and Young* (1)
- 5 *Swimming in the Light*, MacLennan (1)
- 6 *A Passion for Endurance*, Peters and Austin (1)
- 7 *Company of Adventurers*, Newman (1)
- 8 *The World of Robert Balaam*, Balaam (1)
- 9 *Swimming in the Light*, MacLennan (1)
- 10 *A Day in the Life of Canada*, Edited by Cohen (1)

(1) Fiction best seller

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PROFIT FROM OUR EXPERIENCE

# The blessed 32 saving the world

By Allan Fotheringham

Can the world be saved? We are trying to do it, sitting here in the suburbs looking out over the soft green landscape, the Black Angus cattle and the alfalfa that stretches forever. The gardens are sculpted in a geometrical grass, hedges and trees carved into bulbous shapes with care. The swimming pool is divine, and the tennis court is meticulous. The food is excellent and often, and the great red-brick manor house, framed by weeping willows, was built in 1758.

There are 32 of us who are saving the world. We are at the Aspen Institute, an Maryland's eastern shore where Chesapeake Bay swags down toward the sea. We are gathered, those of us who are going to save the world, by Georgetown University in its annual week-long effort to conduct a very unusual-United Nations. No one can quite explain the selection process, but it is assumed an invincible satellite in space has awarded the world for the highest intellects extant, and has picked this blessed 32.

The guests, black against the sky, fly south in distant formation. The man

from Cairo is president general of the United Arab Emirates. He opens like a gentle bellringer, talks a lot of Marxism, is openly contemptuous of the American participants and goes on using for one evening. One of the two from Israel looks like a world-weary Anglia Lansbury. She is a member of the Knesset, from the Labor Party. She regards most of the participants as naive economists. The other is a shrewd and rumpled high-tech businessman who resembles the main character in *Fiddler on the Roof*. He is full of aphorisms, such as, "Behind every great man is a woman willing him to be no good."

We are filled to the caribou with experts on terrorism, space, presidents, wars, peace, lobbyists, diplomacy, religion and nuclear politics, the dollar, Russia, Americans, the Middle East, arms control and the voice of the man from El Salvador in the best-dressed of the lot and has a spiky jog. Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Southam News*.

ging suit. The lady from Denmark has a small laugh, is a member of her country's parliament, goes to all the major feminist conferences, is a social democrat and scoffs at the American view of the world. The man from Canada is a sensitive pharmacist from Quebec, Joe Clark's parliamentary secretary, a Tory who seems more naturally a social democrat.

One of the Americans is a helicopter general who is tall and black and, when asked how many people work in the Pentagon, replies, "About half." The minister of nature and information of

The minister of nature and information of the United States is a member of her country's parliament, goes to all the major feminist conferences, is a social democrat and scoffs at the American view of the world. The man from Canada is a sensitive pharmacist from Quebec, Joe Clark's parliamentary secretary, a Tory who seems more naturally a social democrat.

The man from West Germany is a coast, very tall and very thin, with superb manners, intelligent and so, of course, a leader. The young man from Britain smokes a pipe, trying to make himself look—as do all young men who smoke pipes—serious. There is a chap from the U.S. intelligence agency, a nervous avide and a foreign mountaineer last seen in Charlie Chan movies, who arrives late in the week and attempts to take control of a group preparing a report on arms control. He is suspected of being a male and probably is.

Generally, we tend to be polite. The Israelis do not beat up on the Egyptian

fellow, even in the wake of the retirement of Chirley. Kenzie knows the Egyptian jet out of the air with his two wings. The African Marimbo do not punch out the businessman from El Salvador at the man from Texas. The lady from Denmark who laughs so much is impressed at what she has learned of American politics. It is even worse than she had imagined. The man from Indonesia, who has a narrative pace and studied at the University of California, says nothing. The lady from the Philippines is short and spry and, once launched on a question, tends to keep going until the cows come home.

The crowd pay no attention, save for the 645 aim jugglers, who will give no one peace. But you may mark my word. Next week the world will be a safer place. "Aw, jaw, jaw," said Churchill. "It's better that said, war, war." A week of talk has ended these. Would the White House and the Kremlin dare start something while we are contemplating the Black Angus? Not bloody likely.



the Sudan was a contented university professor a few months ago and a way came along and catapulted him into politics. He does not look happy about it. He does not take off his tie even in this African paradise, perhaps wisely, for one day he gets a call from the Sudan and is gone.

The man from Egypt is as shy and polite he seems barely able to shoulder his delightful title director general of the office of deputy chairman and director of the private sector feasibility studies program at the general authority for investment and free zones of the government of Egypt. Born of taken the breath away. The Japanese make good cheer and confidence, slightly puzzled why all these other types insist on talking about terrorism and nuclear arms when it is clear that trade and money is the only incentive.

There are stone statues of Babesque women, carrying stone grapes, in the sculpted gardens where the sun shines, overlooking the calm waters.



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